THE SCHOOLMASTER

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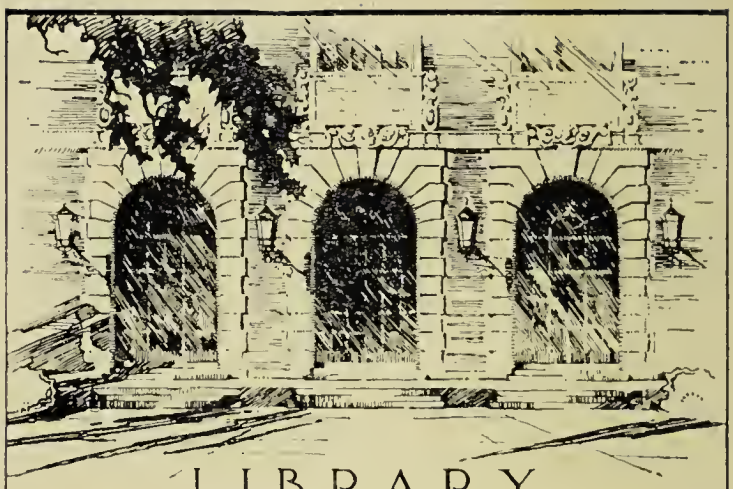
ROGER ASCHAM



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BY

ROGER ASCHAM

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INTRODUCTION.

ROGER ASCHAM, the third son of John Ascham and Margaret his wife, was born in the year 1515 at Kirby Wiske, four or five miles northward of Thirsk, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. There are several Wiskes in the North Riding—Kirby Wiske, Newby Wiske, Danby Wiske; the word being from the Welsh Wysg, equivalent to the Gaelic Uisge, water. There is a stream in Yorkshire called the Wisk, allied in name to Exe, Ouse, and the like.

John Ascham was house-steward in the service of Henry Lord Scrope of Bolton, who died in 1532, and was succeeded in the barony by his son John, who died in 1554. John Ascham and Margaret his wife lived together until the year 1544, when they both died on the same day, and almost at the same hour, after forty-seven years of happy marriage. Roger Ascham's elder brothers were named Thomas and Antony. Antony graduated as M.B. in 1540, studied astrology, and became Vicar of Burneston, in Yorkshire. Roger Ascham had also sisters. While still very young he was received into the family of Sir Humphrey Wingfield, "to whom," said Ascham, "next to God I ought to refer, for his manifold benefits bestowed on me, the poor talent of learning which God hath lent me. . . . This worshipful man hath ever loved and used to have many children brought up in learning in his house, amongst whom I myself was one." He was placed under a tutor, R. Bond, until the age of fifteen, when his patron sent him on to St. John's College, Cambridge, where his tutor was Hugh Fitzherbert, a Fellow of St. John's. He proceeded to B.A. early in 1534, and in March, 1534, was himself elected Fellow of his College. Robert Pember, an intimate friend of his tutor, took great

interest in the rapid advance of Ascham's studies, especially in Greek, then newly introduced into the University. Ascham taught Greek as he learnt it, and learnt much of it from Robert Pember, who became chief Greek Reader at Trinity College, upon its foundation in 1546. Ascham became also one of the best Latin scholars in his University, and was often chosen to write Latin letters in the name of his College on special occasions, because he excelled both as a Latinist and as a penman. His skill in handwriting extended to ornamental letters and illumination. The Master of his College, Dr. Nicholas Medcalfe, was a kindly man of the old school, a Roman Catholic, not the less ready to assist young men who worked faithfully if they chanced to have heretical opinions.

Ascham, at eighteen, newly-made Bachelor of Arts. had spoken among his companions against the Pope. How the good Master of the College then joined an official favour to a private kindness, Ascham tells in his "Schoolmaster," as may be seen on pages 155–157 of this edition. Ascham commenced M.A. on the 29th of June, 1537, when in his twenty-first year, and in the following spring he paid a visit to his parents, whom he had not seen during the seven years of Cambridge study towards graduation. He lectured on Greek at St. John's College, and also for the University, and for two years, from the end of 1539, he was Mathematical Lecturer to the University.

In 1540 Henry VIII. founded at Cambridge five Regius Professorships—Law, Medicine, Divinity, Hebrew and Greek—and John Cheke, not knighted until 1552, was appointed the first Regius Professor of Greek, with a stipend of forty pounds a year. Ascham's Greek lectures were then confined to St. John's College. In the same year, 1540, Ascham sought aid to his maintenance by offering to translate from the Greek fathers, make abstracts, and be otherwise useful to Edward Lee, who had been constituted Archbishop of York in 1530. Archbishop Lee gave Ascham a pension of forty shillings, and Ascham made for the Archbishop a translation into Latin of Œcumenius's "Commentaries on Paul's Epistles, gathered out of Cyril, Chrysostom, and other Greek

Fathers." The translation was returned to Ascham with a present, and a request that he would see to the heterodoxy of a passage from Chrysostom upon the marriage of the clergy. Ascham's age was at this time twenty-seven. He was one of the finest classical scholars at Cambridge. He had learned to play upon several instruments of music; he had kept up the practice of archery, in which Sir Humphrey Wingfield had begun his training as a boy; he was in harmony with the opinions of the more scholarly Church Reformers, and justified the dread of Greek scholarship and study of Plato, which gave rise to the saying among priests of the old school, "*Cave a Græcis, ne fias hæreticus*"—Beware of the Greeks lest you be made a heretic. Roger Ascham was of weak health during all his life, and was at home ill for two years about the time when he made his translation of Œcumenius's "Commentaries" for Archbishop Lee. Archbishop Lee died on the 13th of September, 1544, and with him died Ascham's little pension of forty shillings. In the same year Ascham lost both father and mother, and the last letter written by his father urged that he should at once leave Cambridge and take to some honest course of life, for that they provoked, at Cambridge, the anger of God by the contentions that went on amongst them.

In 1544 Henry VIII. besieged and took Boulogne. Ascham had been preparing in view of that expedition, a little treatise for encouragement of the practice of archery among scholars as among the people at large, which was called "Toxophilus," and was in two parts. The first was upon the public and the personal advantage of the practice of archery, which then corresponded to our modern rifle practice, as a means of defence against invasion. The second part was technical, upon the use of the bow. The King's movements were quicker than had been expected, and he was back from Boulogne in September, 1544, before "Toxophilus" was finished. The book was presented to the King in the picture-gallery at Greenwich, in 1545, the year of its publication, and his Majesty rewarded Ascham's patriotism with a pension of ten pounds a year. In his preface to "Toxophilus" Ascham

was the first to suggest that English prose might be written with the same scholarly care that would be required for choice and ordering of the words if one wrote Latin. "He that will write well in any tongue," said Ascham, "must follow this counsel of Aristotle, to speak as the common people do, to think as wise men do; and so should every man understand him, and the judgment of wise men allow him. Many English writers have not done so, but using strange words as Latin, French, and Italian, do make all things dark and hard. Once I commerced with a man which reasoned the English tongue to be enriched and increased thereby, saying, "Who will not praise that feast where a man shall drink at a dinner both wine, ale and beer?' 'Truly,' quod I, 'they be all good, every one taken by himself alone; but if you put malmsey and sack, red wine and white, ale and beer, and all in one pot, you shall make a drink neither easy to be known, nor yet wholesome for the body.'"

Ascham supplies here the right standard by which to measure English scholarship. His Latin was so well esteemed that in the year after the appearance of "Toxophilus" he succeeded Cheke as Public Orator, and wrote the official letters of the University.

Upon the death of Henry VIII. Ascham's pension was renewed by Edward VI., to whom he had been tutor in writing, and in 1548 Ascham first began to teach Greek to the Princess Elizabeth, whom we find in the "Schoolmaster," continuing her Greek studies with him when she had succeeded to the throne. In the reign of Edward VI. Ascham was appointed Secretary to Sir Richard Morison who went abroad in 1550, in the interests of the Reformation as Ambassador to Charles V. Ascham published in 1553 a "Report and Discourse of the Affairs and State of Germany and the Emperor Charles his Court, during certain years while the said Roger was there."

On the accession of Queen Mary Sir Richard Morison's mission of course came to an end; but while other reformers suffered, Ascham's freedom from all bitterness made him so acceptable a friend that, without change

and concealment of opinion, he obtained renewal of his pension, and in May, 1554, he was appointed Latin Secretary to the Queen with a salary of forty marks. In that year, at the age of thirty-nine, he gave up his fellowship at St. John's and married Margaret Howe.

When Elizabeth became Queen in 1558, Ascham's pension was again renewed, and he retained his post of Latin Secretary. The Queen also showed him other kindnesses. In 1563 Ascham, as one in the Queen's service, was dining with Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burleigh), when the conversation turned to the subject of education, from news of the running away of some boys from Eton, where there was much beating. Ascham argued that young children were sooner allured by love than driven by beating to obtain good learning. Sir Richard Sackville, father of Thomas Sackville, said nothing at the dinner-table, but he afterwards drew Ascham aside, agreed with his opinions, lamented his own past loss by a harsh schoolmaster, and said, Ascham tells us in the preface to his book, "'Seeing it is but in vain to lament things past, and also wisdom to look to things to come, surely, God willing, if God lend me life, I will make this my mishap some occasion of good hap to little Robert Sackville, my son's son. For whose bringing up I would gladly, if it so please you, use specially your good advice. I hear say you have a son much of his age (Ascham had three little sons); we will deal thus together. Point you out a schoolmaster who by your order shall teach my son's son and yours, and for all the rest I will provide, yea, though they three do cost me a couple of hundred pounds by year; and besides you shall find me as fast a friend to you and yours as perchance any you have.' Which promise the worthy gentleman surely kept with me until his dying day." The conversation went into particulars, and in the course of it, Sir Richard drew from Ascham what he thought of the common going of Englishmen into Italy. All ended with a request that Ascham would "put in some order of writing the chief points of this our talk, concerning the right order of teaching and honesty of living, for the good bringing up of children and young men."

That was the origin of Ascham's book called "The Schoolmaster." Ascham wrote in Latin against the mass, and upon other subjects connected with religious controversy. His delicate health failed more and more. He became unable to work between dinner and bed-time, was troubled with sleeplessness, sought rest by the motion of a cradle, and ended his pure life as a scholar in 1568, at the age of fifty-three.

His "Schoolmaster" was left complete, and published in 1570 by his widow, with a dedication to Sir William Cecil, beseeching him, she said, to take on him "the defence of the book, to avaunce the good that may come of it by your allowance and furtherance to publike use and benefite, and to accept the thankefull recognition of me and my poore children; trustyng of the continuance of your good memorie of M. Ascham and his, and dayly commendyng the prosperous estate of you and yours to God, whom you serve and whose you are, I rest to trouble you. Your humble Margaret Ascham."

H. M.

THE SCHOOLMASTER.

THE FIRST BOOK FOR THE YOUTH.

AFTER the child hath learned perfectly the eight parts of speech, let him then learn the right joining together of substantives with adjectives, the noun with the verb, the relative with the antecedent. And in learning farther his syntax by mine advice, he shall not use the common order in common schools for making of Latins, whereby the child commonly learneth: first, an evil choice of words (and right choice of words, saith Cæsar, is the foundation of eloquence) than a wrong placing of words; and lastly, an ill framing of the sentence, with a perverse judgment both of words and sentences. These faults, taking once root in youth, be never or hardly plucked away in age. Moreover, there is no one thing that hath more either dulled the wits or taken away the will of children from learning than the care they have to satisfy their masters in making of Latins.

For the scholar is commonly beat for the making,

when the master were more worthy to be beat for the mending, or rather marring of the same. The master many times being as ignorant as the child, what to say properly and fitly to the matter.

Two schoolmasters have set forth in print either of them a book, of such kind of Latins, Horman and Whittington.

A child shall learn of the better of them, that which another day if he be wise and come to judgment he must be fain to unlearn again.

There is a way, touched in the first book of Cicero's "De Oratore," which, wisely brought into schools, truly taught, and constantly used, would not only take wholly away this butcherly fear in making of Latins, but would also with ease and pleasure, and in short time, as I know by good experience, work a true choice and placing of words, a right ordering of sentences, an easy understanding of the tongue, a readiness to speak, a facility to write, a true judgment, both of his own and other men's doings, what tongue so ever he doth use.

The way is this. After the three Concordances learned, as I touched before, let the master read unto him the Epistles of Cicero, gathered together and chosen out by Sturmius, for the capacity of children.

First, let him teach the child cheerfully and plainly the cause and matter of the letter, then let him construe it into English, so oft as the child may easily

carry away the understanding of it; lastly, parse it over perfectly. This done thus, let the child by-and-by both construe and parse it over again, so that it may appear that the child doubteth in nothing that his master taught him before. After this the child must take a paper book, and sitting in some place, where no man shall prompt him, by himself, let him translate into English his former lesson. Then showing it to his master, let the master take from him his Latin book, and pausing an hour at the least, then let the child translate his own English into Latin again in another paper book. When the child bringeth it turned into Latin, the master must compare it with Tully's book, and lay them both together, and where the child doth well, either in choosing or true placing of Tully's words, let the master praise him and say here ye do well. For I assure you there is no such whetstone to sharpen a good wit and encourage a will to learning as his praise.

But if the child miss either in forgetting a word or in changing a good with a worse, or misordering the sentence, I would not have the master either frown or chide with him, if the child have done his diligence, and used no truantship therein. For I know by good experience that a child shall take more profit of two faults, gently warned of, than of four things rightly hit. For then the master shall have good occasion to say unto him, Tully would have used such a word,

not this; Tully would have placed this word here, not there; would have used this case, this number, this person, this degree, this gender; he would have used this mood, this tense, this simple rather than this compound; this adverb here, not there; he would have ended the sentence with this verb, not with that noun or participle, etc.

In these few lines I have wrapped up the most tedious part of grammar, and also the ground of almost all the rules that are so busily taught by the master, and so hardly learned by the scholar in all common schools, which after this sort the master shall teach without all error, and the scholar shall learn without great pain, the master being led by so sure a guide and the scholar being brought into so plain and easy a way. And therefore we do not contemn rules, but we gladly teach rules, and teach them more plainly, sensibly, and orderly, than they be commonly taught in common schools. For when the master shall compare Tully's book with his scholar's translation, let the master at the first lead and teach his scholar to join the rules of his grammar book, with the examples of his present lesson, until the scholar by himself be able to fetch out of his grammar every rule for every example, so as the grammar book be ever in the scholar's hand, and also used of him as a dictionary for every present use. This is a lively and perfect way of teaching of rules, where the common way used in

common schools to read the grammar alone by itself is tedious for the master, hard for the scholar, cold and uncomfortable for them both.

Let your scholar be never afraid to ask you any doubt, but use discreetly the best allurements you can, to encourage him to the same, lest his overmuch fearing of you drive him to seek some misorderly shift, as to seek to be helped by some other book or to be prompted by some other scholar, and so go about to beguile you much, and himself more.

With this way of good understanding the master, plain construing, diligent parsing, daily translating, cheerful admonishing, and heedful amending of faults, never leaving behind just praise for well-doing, I would have the scholar brought up withal till he had read and translated over the first book of Epistles chosen out by Sturmius, with a good piece of a comedy of Terence also.

All this while by mine advice the child shall use to speak no Latin. For as Cicero saith in like matter with like words, *loquendo, male loqui discunt.* And that excellent learned man, G. Budæus, in his Greek Commentaries, sore complaineth that when he began to learn the Latin tongue, use of speaking Latin at the table and elsewhere, unadvisedly did bring him to such an evil choice of words, to such a crooked framing of sentences, that no one thing did hurt or hinder him more all the days of his life

afterward, both for readiness in speaking and also good judgment in writing.

In very deed if children were brought up in such a house or such a school where the Latin tongue were properly and perfectly spoken, as Tib. and Ca. Gracchi were brought up in their mother Cornelia's house, surely then the daily use of speaking were the best and readiest way to learn the Latin tongue. But now, commonly, in the best schools in England, for words, right choice is smally regarded, true propriety wholly neglected, confusion is brought in, barbarousness is bred up so in young wits, as afterward they be not only marred for speaking, but also corrupted in judgment, as with much ado or never at all they be brought to right frame again.

Yet all men covet to have their children speak Latin, and so do I very earnestly too. We both have one purpose, we agree in desire, we wish one end, but we differ somewhat in order and way that leadeth rightly to that end. Others would have them speak at all adventures; and so they be speaking to speak, the master careth not, the scholar knoweth not, what. This is to seem and not to be, except it be to be bold without shame, rash without skill, full of words without wit. I wish to have them speak so, as it may well appear, that the brain doth govern the tongue, and that reason leadeth forth the talk. Socrates' doctrine is true in Plato and well marked, and truly uttered by Horace

in "Ars Poetica," that wheresoever knowledge doth accompany the wit, there best utterance doth always await upon the tongue; for good understanding must first be bred in the child, which, being nourished with skill and use of writing (as I will teach more largely hereafter), is the only way to bring him to judgment and readiness in speaking, and that in far shorter time (if he follow constantly the trade of this little lesson) than he shall do by common teaching of the common schools in England.

But to go forward as you perceive your scholar to go better and better on away, first with understanding his lesson more quickly, with parsing more readily, with translating more speedily and perfectly than he was wont, after give him longer lessons to translate, and withal begin to teach him both in nouns and verbs what is *Proprium*, and what is *Translatum*, what *Synonymum*, what *Diversum*, which be *Contraria*, and which be most notable phrases in all his lecture.

As :—

Proprium.	Rex sepultus est magnificè.
Translatum.	Cum illo principe, sepulta est et gloria et salus Reipublicæ.
Synonyma.	Ensis, gladius. Laudare, prædicare.

Diversa.	Diligere, amare. Calere, exardescere. Inimicus, hostis.
Contraria.	Acerbum et luctuosum bellum. Dulcis et læta pax.
Phrases.	Dare verba. Abjicere obedientiam.

Your scholar then must have the third paper book: in the which, after he hath done his double translation, let him write after this sort four of these forenamed six, diligently marked out of every lesson:—

Quatuor.
- Propria.
- Translata.
- Synonyma.
- Diversa.
- Contraria.
- Phrases.

Or else, three, or two, if there be no more: and if there be none of these at all in some lecture, yet not omit the order, but write these:—

Diversa nulla.
Contraria nulla, etc.

This diligent translating, joined with this heedful marking, in the aforesaid epistles, and afterward in some plain oration of Tully, as, *pro lege Manilia*, *pro Archia Poeta*, or in those three *ad C. Cæs.*, shall work such a right choice of words, so straight a framing of

sentences, such a true judgment, both to write skilfully and speak wittily, as wise men shall both praise and marvel at.

If your scholar do miss sometimes in marking rightly the aforesaid six things, chide not hastily, for that shall both dull his wit and discourage his diligence, but monish him gently, which shall make him both willing to amend, and glad to go forward in love and hope of learning.

I have now wished, twice or thrice, this gentle nature to be in a schoolmaster: and, that I have done so, neither by chance, nor without some reason, I will now declare at large why, in mine opinion, love is fitter than fear, gentleness better than beating, to bring up a child rightly in learning.

With the common use of teaching and beating in common schools of England, I will not greatly contend, which if I did, it were but a small grammatical controversy, neither belonging to heresy nor treason, nor greatly touching God nor the Prince: although in very deed, in the end, the good or ill bringing up of children doth as much serve to the good or ill service of God, our Prince, and our whole country, as any one thing doth beside.

I do gladly agree with all good schoolmasters in these points: to have children brought to good perfectness in learning; to all honesty in manners; to have all faults rightly amended; to have every vice

severely corrected; but for the order and way that leadeth rightly to these points we somewhat differ. For commonly, many schoolmasters—some, as I have seen, more, as I have heard tell—be of so crooked a nature, as, when they meet with a hard-witted scholar, they rather break him than bow him, rather mar him than mend him. For when the schoolmaster is angry with some other matter, then will he soonest fall to beat his scholar; and though he himself should be punished for his folly, yet must he beat some scholar for his pleasure, though there be no cause for him to do so, nor yet fault in the scholar to deserve so. These, you will say, be fond schoolmasters, and few they be that be found to be such. They be fond, indeed, but surely over many such be found everywhere. But this will I say, that even the wisest of your great beaters do as oft punish nature as they do correct faults. Yea, many times the better nature is sorely punished; for, if one, by quickness of wit, take his lesson readily, another, by hardness of wit, taketh it not so speedily, the first is always commended, the other is commonly punished; when a wise schoolmaster should rather discreetly consider the right disposition of both their natures, and not so much way what either of them is able to do now, as what either of them is likely to do hereafter. For this I know, not only by reading of books in my study, but also by experience of life abroad in the world, that those which be commonly

the wisest, the best learned, and best men also, when they be old, were never commonly the quickest of wit when they were young. The causes why, amongst other, which be many, that move me thus to think, be these few, which I will reckon. Quick wits commonly be apt to take, unapt to keep; soon hot and desirous of this and that; as cold and soon weary of the same again; more quick to enter speedily than able to pierce far: even like over sharp tools, whose edges be very soon turned. Such wits delight themselves in easy and pleasant studies, and never pass far forward in high and hard sciences. And therefore the quickest wits commonly may prove the best poets, but not the wisest orators: ready of tongue to speak boldly, not deep of judgment, either for good counsel or wise writing. Also, for manners and life, quick wits commonly be, in desire, newfangle, in purpose, unconstant, light to promise anything, ready to forget everything, both benefit and injury; and thereby neither fast to friend nor fearful to foe; inquisitive of every trifle; not secret in greatest affairs; bold with any person; busy in every matter; soothing such as be present, nipping any that is absent; of nature also, always, flattering their betters, envying their equals, despising their inferiors; and, by quickness of wit, very quick and ready, to like none so well as themselves.

Moreover commonly, men, very quick of wit, be also very light of conditions, and thereby very ready

of disposition, to be carried over quickly, by any light company, to any riot and unthriftiness when they be young; and therefore seldom either honest of life or rich in living when they be old. For, quick in wit and light in manners be either seldom troubled, or very soon weary, in carrying a very heavy purse. Quick wits also be, in most part of all their doings, overquick, hasty, rash, heady, and brainsick. These two last words, heady and brainsick, be fit and proper words, rising naturally of the matter, and termed aptly by the condition of overmuch quickness of wit. In youth also they be ready scoffers, privy mockers, and ever over light and merry. In age, soon testy, very waspish, and always over miserable; and yet few of them come to any great age by reason of their misordered life when they were young; but a great deal fewer of them come to show any great countenance, or bear any great authority abroad in the world, but either live obscurely, men know not how, or die obscurely, men mark not when. They be like trees that show forth fair blossoms and broad leaves in spring time, but bring out small and not long lasting fruit in harvest time; and that only such as fall and rot before they be ripe, and so never, or seldom, come to any good at all. For this ye shall find most true by experience, that amongst a number of quick wits in youth, few be found, in the end, either very fortunate for themselves or very profitable to serve the common

wealth, but decay and vanish, men know not which way; except a very few, to whom peradventure blood and happy parentage may perchance purchase a long standing upon the stage. The which felicity, because it cometh by others procuring, not by their own deserving, and stand by other men's feet, and not by their own, what outward brag so ever is borne by them, is indeed, of itself, and in wise men's eyes, of no great estimation.

Some wits, moderate enough by nature, be many times marred by overmuch study and use of some sciences, namely, Music, Arithmetic, and Geometry. These sciences, as they sharpen men's wits overmuch, so they change men's manners oversore, if they be not moderately mingled, and wisely applied to some good use of life. Mark all mathematical heads, which be only and wholly bent to those sciences, how solitary they be themselves, how unfit to live with others, and how unapt to serve in the world. This is not only known now by common experience, but uttered long before by wise men's judgment and sentence. Galene saith much music marreth men's manners; and Plato hath a notable place of the same thing in his books *de Rep.* well marked also, and excellently translated by Tully himself. Of this matter, I wrote once more at large, twenty years ago, in my book of shooting: now I thought but to touch it, to prove that overmuch quickness of wit, either given by nature or sharpened

by study, doth not commonly bring forth either greatest learning, best manners, or happiest life in the end.

Contrarywise, a wit in youth, that is not over dull, heavy, knotty, and lumpish, but hard, rough, and though somewhat staffish, as Tully wisheth *otium, quietum, non languidum;* and *negotium cum labore, non cum periculo,* such a wit I say, if it be at the first well handled by the mother, and rightly smoothed and wrought as it should, not over thwartly, and against the wood, by the schoolmaster, both for learning and whole course of living, proveth always the best. In wood and stone, not the softest, but hardest, be always aptest for portraiture, both fairest for pleasure, and most durable for profit. Hard wits be hard to receive, but sure to keep; painful without weariness, heedful without wavering, constant without newfangleness; bearing heavy things, though not lightly, yet willingly; entering hard things, though not easily, yet deeply, and so come to that perfectness of learning in the end that quick wits seem in hope, but do not in deed, or else very seldom, ever attain unto. Also, for manners and life, hard wits commonly are hardly carried, either to desire every new thing, or else to marvel at every strange thing; and therefore they be careful and diligent in their own matters, not curious and busy in other men's affairs: and so they become wise themselves, and also are counted honest by others. They be grave, steadfast, silent of tongue, secret of heart. Not hasty

in making, but constant in keeping any promise. Not rash in uttering, but wary in considering every matter; and, thereby, not quick in speaking, but deep of judgment, whether they write, or give counsel in all weighty affairs. And these be the men that become in the end both most happy for themselves, and always best esteemed abroad in the world.

I have been longer in describing the nature, the good or ill success, of the quick and hard wit, than perchance some will think this place and matter doth require. But my purpose was hereby plainly to utter what injury is offered to all learning, and to the commonwealth also, first, by the fond father in choosing, but chiefly by the lewd schoolmaster in beating and driving away the best natures from learning. A child that is still, silent, constant, and somewhat hard of wit, is either never chosen by the father to be made a scholar, or else, when he cometh to the school, he is smally regarded, little looked unto, he lacketh teaching, he lacketh couraging, he lacketh all things, only he never lacketh beating, nor any word that may move him to hate learning, nor any deed that may drive him from learning to any other kind of living.

And when this sad-natured and hard-witted child is beat from his book, and becometh after either student of the common law, or page in the court, or servingman, or bound apprentice to a merchant, or to some handicraft, he proveth in the end wiser, happier,

and many times honester too, than many of these quick wits do by their learning.

Learning is both hindered and injured too by the ill choice of them that send young scholars to the universities, of whom must needs come all our divines, lawyers, and physicians.

These young scholars be chosen commonly, as young apples be chosen by children, in a fair garden about St. Jamestide: a child will choose a sweeting, because it is presently fair and pleasant, and refuse a runnet, because it is then green, hard, and sour, when the one, if it be eaten, doth breed both worms and ill-humours; the other, if it stand his time, be ordered and kept as it should, is wholesome of itself, and helpeth to the good digestion of other meats. Sweetings will receive worms, rot, and die on the tree, and never or seldom come to the gathering for good and lasting store.

For very grief of heart I will not apply the similitude: but hereby is plainly seen how learning is robbed of her best wits, first by the great beating, and after by the ill choosing of scholars, to go to the universities. Whereof cometh partly that lewd and spiteful proverb, sounding to the great hurt of learning and shame of learned men, that the greatest clerks be not the wisest men.

And though I, in all this discourse, seem plainly to prefer hard and rough wits before quick and light wits both for learning and manners, yet am I not ignorant

that some quickness of wit is a singular gift of God, and so most rare amongst men, and namely such a wit as is quick without lightness, sharp without brittleness, desirous of good things without newfangleness, diligent in painful things without wearisomeness, and constant in good will to do all things well, as I know was in Sir John Cheke, and is in some that yet live, in whom all these fair qualities of wit are fully met together.

But it is notable and true that Socrates saith in Plato to his friend Crito :—That that number of men is fewest which far exceed, either in good or ill, in wisdom or folly, but the mean betwixt both, be the greatest number, which he proveth true in divers other things, as in greyhounds, amongst which few are found exceeding great or exceeding little, exceeding swift or exceeding slow; and therefore, I speaking of quick and hard wits, I meant the common number of quick and hard wits amongst the which, for the most part, the hard wit proveth many times the better learned, wiser, and honester man; and therefore do I the more lament that such wits commonly be either kept from learning by fond fathers, or beat from learning by lewd schoolmasters.

And speaking thus much of the wits of children for learning, the opportunity of the place, and goodness of the matter might require to have here declared the most special notes of a good wit for learning in a child, after the manner and custom of a good horseman, who

is skilful to know, and able to tell others, how by certain sure signs a man may choose a colt, that is like to prove another day excellent for the saddle. And it is pity that commonly more care is had, yea, and that amongst very wise men, to find out rather a cunning man for their horse than a cunning man for their children. They say nay in word, but they do so in deed. For, to the one, they will gladly give a stipend of 200 crowns by year, and loth to offer to the other 200 shillings. God, that sitteth in heaven, laugheth their choice to scorn, and rewardeth their liberality as it should; for He suffereth them to have tame and well ordered horse, but wild and unfortunate children, and, therefore, in the end they find more pleasure in their horse than comfort in their children.

But concerning the true notes of the best wits for learning in a child, I will report, not mine own opinion, but the very judgment of him that was counted the best teacher and wisest man that learning maketh mention of, and that is Socrates in Plato, who expresseth orderly these seven plain notes to choose a good wit in a child for learning:—

1. Εὐφυής.
2. Μνήμων.
3. Φιλομαθής.
4. Φιλόπονος.
5. Φιλήκοος.
6. Ζητητικός.
7. Φιλέπαινος.

And because I write English, and to Englishmen, I will plainly declare in English both what these words of Plato mean, and how aptly they be linked, and how orderly they follow one another.

1. Εὐφυής.

Is he that is apt by goodness of wit, and appliable by readiness of will, to learning, having all other qualities of the mind and parts of the body, that must another day serve learning, not troubled, mangled, and halved, but found whole, full, and able to do their office; as a tongue, not stammering, or ever hardly drawing forth words, but plain and ready to deliver the meaning of the mind; a voice, not soft, weak, piping, womanish, but audible, strong, and manlike; a countenance, not wearish and crabbed, but fair and comely; a personage, not wretched and deformed, but tall and goodly; for surely a comely countenance, with a goodly stature, giveth credit to learning and authority to the person; otherwise commonly, either open contempt, or privy disfavour doth hurt, or hinder, both person and learning. And, even as a fair stone requireth to be set in the finest gold, with the best workmanship, or else it loseth much of the grace and price, even so, excellency in learning, and namely divinity, joined with a comely personage, is a marvellous jewel in the world. And how can a comely body be better employed than to serve the fairest exercise

of God's greatest gift, and that is learning? But commonly, the fairest bodies are bestowed on the foulest purposes. I would it were not so, and with examples herein I will not meddle; yet I wish, that those should both mind it, and meddle with it, which have most occasion to look to it, as good and wise fathers should do, and greatest authority to amend it, as good and wise magistrates ought to do; and yet I will not let openly to lament the unfortunate case of learning herein.

For, if a father have four sons, three fair and well formed both mind and body, the fourth, wretched, lame, and deformed, his choice shall be, to put the worst to learning, as one good enough to become a scholar. I have spent the most part of my life in the university, and therefore I can bear good witness that many fathers commonly do thus; whereof, I have heard many wise, learned, and as good men as ever I knew, make great, and oft complain: a good horseman will choose no such colt, neither for his own, nor yet for his master's saddle. And thus much of the first note.

2. Μνήμων.

Good of memory: a special part of the first note εὐφυής, and a mere benefit of nature; yet it is so necessary for learning, as Plato maketh it a separate and perfect note of itself, and that so principal a note, as without it, all other gifts of nature do small service to

learning. Afranius, that old Latin poet, maketh memory the mother of learning and wisdom, saying thus :—

Usus me genuit, Mater peperit memoria, and though it be the mere gift of nature, yet is memory well preserved by use, and much increased by order, as our scholar must learn another day in the university; but in a child, a good memory is well known, by three properties: that is, if it be quick in receiving, sure in keeping, and ready in delivering forth again.

3. Φιλομαθής.

Given to love learning: for though a child have all the gifts of nature at wish, and perfection of memory at will, yet if he have not a special love to learning, he shall never attain to much learning. And therefore Isocrates, one of the noblest schoolmasters that is in memory of learning, who taught kings and princes, as Halicarnassæus writeth, and out of whose school, as Tully saith, came forth more noble captains, more wise counsellors, than did out of Epeius' horse at Troy. This Isocrates, I say, did cause to be written, at the entry of his school, in golden letters, this golden sentence, ἐὰν ἦς φιλομαθής, ἔσῃ πολυμαθής, which excellently said in Greek, is thus rudely in English, if thou lovest learning, thou shalt attain to much learning.

4. Φιλόπονος.

Is he that hath a lust to labour, and a will to take

pains. For, if a child have all the benefits of nature, with perfection of memory, love, like, and praise learning ever so much, yet if he be not of himself painful, he shall never attain unto it. And yet where love is present, labour is seldom absent, and namely in study of learning, and matters of the mind; and therefore did Isocrates rightly judge, that if his scholar were φιλομαθής, he cared for no more. Aristotle, varying from Isocrates in private affairs of life, but agreeing with Isocrates in common judgment of learning, for love and labour in learning is of the same opinion, uttered in these words, in his rhetoric *ad Theodecten.* Liberty kindleth love; love refuseth no labour; and labour obtaineth whatsoever it seeketh. And yet nevertheless, goodness of nature may do little good; perfection of memory may serve to small use; all love may be employed in vain; any labour may be soon gravelled, if a man trust always to his own singular wit, and will not be glad sometime to hear, take advice, and learn of another; and therefore doth Socrates very notably add the fifth note.

5. Φιλήκοος.

He that is glad to hear and learn of another. For otherwise, he shall stick with great trouble, where he might go easily forward; and also catch hardly a very little by his own toil, when he might gather quickly a good deal by another man's teaching. But now

there be some that have great love to learning, good lust to labour, be willing to learn of others, yet, either of a fond shamefastness, or else of a proud folly, they dare not, or will not, go to learn of another; and therefore doth Socrates wisely add the sixth note of a good wit in a child for learning, and that is:

6. Ζητητικὸς.

He that is naturally bold to ask any question, desirous to search out any doubt, not ashamed to learn of the meanest, not afraid to go to the greatest, until he be perfectly taught, and fully satisfied. The seventh and last point is:

7. Φιλέπαινος.

He that loveth to be praised for well doing, at his father or master's hand. A child of this nature will earnestly love learning, gladly labour for learning, willingly learn of another, boldly ask any doubt. And thus, by Socrates' judgment, a good father, and a wise schoolmaster, should choose a child to make a scholar of that hath by nature the foresaid perfect qualities, and comely furniture, both of mind and body; hath memory, quick to receive, sure to keep, and ready to deliver; hath love to learning; hath lust to labour; hath desire to learn of others; hath boldness to ask any question; hath mind holy bent, to win praise by well doing.

The two first points be special benefits of nature:

which nevertheless be well preserved, and much increased by good order. But as for the five last, love, labour, gladness to learn of others, boldness to ask doubts, and will to win praise, be won and maintained by the only wisdom and discretion of the schoolmaster. Which five points, whether a schoolmaster shall work sooner in a child, by fearful beating, or courteous handling, you that be wise, judge.

Yet some men, wise in deed, but in this matter, more by severity of nature than any wisdom at all, do laugh at us when we thus wish and reason, that young children should rather be allured to learning by gentleness and love than compelled to learning by beating and fear. They say our reasons serve only to breed forth talk and pass away time, but we never saw a good schoolmaster do so, nor never read of a wise man that thought so.

Yes, forsooth, as wise as they be, either in other men's opinion or in their own conceit, I will bring the contrary judgment of him who, they themselves shall confess, was as wise as they are, or else they may be justly thought to have small wit at all; and that is Socrates, whose judgment in Plato is plainly this in these words; which, because they be very notable, I will recite them in his own tongue: *οὐδὲν μάθημα μετὰ δουλείας χρὴ μανθάνειν: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος πόνοι βίᾳ πονούμενοι, χεῖρον οὐδὲν τὸ σῶμα ἀπεργάζονται: ψυχῇ δὲ βίαιον οὐδὲν ἔμμενεν μάθημα;* in English thus, no learn-

ing ought to be learned with bondage; for bodily labours, wrought by compulsion, hurt not the body, but any learning learned by compulsion tarrieth not long in the mind. And why? For whatsoever the mind doth learn unwillingly with fear, the same it doth quickly forget without care. And lest proud wits, that love not to be contraried, but have lust to wrangle or trifle away truth, will say that Socrates meaneth not this of children's teaching but of some other higher learning. Hear what Socrates in the same place doth more plainly say: μὴ τοίνυν βίᾳ, ὦ ἄριστε, τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἀλλὰ παίζοντας τρέφε, that is to say, and therefore, my dear friend, bring not up your children in learning by compulsion and fear, but by playing and pleasure. And you, that do read Plato, as you should, do well perceive that these be no questions asked by Socrates as doubts, but they be sentences first affirmed by Socrates as mere truths, and after given forth by Socrates as right rules most necessary to be marked, and fit to be followed of all them that would have children taught as they should. And in this council, judgment, and authority of Socrates I will repose myself until I meet with a man of the contrary mind whom I may justly take to be wiser than I think Socrates was. Fond schoolmasters neither can understand nor will follow this good counsel of Socrates, but wise riders, in their office, can and will do both; which is the only cause that commonly the young gentlemen of England go so

unwillingly to school, and run so fast to the stable. For in very deed fond schoolmasters, by fear, do beat into them the hatred of learning, and wise riders, by gentle allurements, do breed up in them the love of riding. They find fear and bondage in schools, they feel liberty and freedom in stables; which causeth them utterly to abhor the one and most gladly to haunt the other. And I do not write this that in exhorting to the one I would dissuade young gentlemen from the other: yea, I am sorry, with all my heart, that they be given no more to riding than they be; for of all outward qualities, to ride fair is most comely for himself, most necessary for his country, and the greater he is in blood, the greater is his praise, the more he doth exceed all other therein. It was one of the three excellent praises amongst the noble gentlemen of the old Persians always to say truth, to ride fair, and shoot well; and so it was engraven upon Darius's tomb, as Strabo beareth witness:

"Darius the king, lieth buried here,
Who in riding and shooting had never peer."

But, to our purpose, young men, by any means losing the love of learning, when by time they come to their own rule, they carry commonly from the school with them a perpetual hatred of their master, and a continual contempt of learning. If ten gentlemen be asked, why they forget so soon in court that which they were learn-

ing so long in school, eight of them, or let me be blamed, will lay the fault on their ill handling by their schoolmasters.

Cuspinian doth report that that noble Emperor Maximilian would lament very oft his misfortune herein.

Yet, some will say that children of nature love pastime and mislike learning, because, in their kind, the one is easy and pleasant, the other hard and wearisome, which is an opinion not so true as some men ween; for the matter lieth not so much in the disposition of them that be young, as in the order and manner of bringing up by them that be old, nor yet in the difference of learning and pastime. For, beat a child if he dance not well, and cherish him though he learn not well, ye shall have him unwilling to go to dance, and glad to go to his book. Knock him always when he draweth his shaft ill, and favour him again though he fault at his book, ye shall have him very loth to be in the field and very willing to be in the school. Yea, I say more, and not of myself, but by the judgment of those from whom few wise men will gladly dissent, that if ever the nature of man be given at any time more than other to receive goodness, it is in innocence of young years, before that experience of evil have taken root in him. For the pure clean wit of a sweet young babe is like the newest wax, most able to receive the best and fairest printing, and like a new bright silver dish never

occupied to receive and keep clean any good thing that is put into it.

And thus, will in children, wisely wrought withal, may easily be won to be very well willing to learn. And wit in children, by nature, namely memory, the only key and keeper of all learning, is readiest to receive and surest to keep any manner of thing that is learned in youth. This, lewd and learned, by common experience, know to be most true. For we remember nothing so well when we be old as those things which we learned when we were young; and this is not strange, but common in all nature's works. Every man sees, as I said before, new wax is best for printing, new clay fittest for working, new shorn wool aptest for soon and surest dyeing, new fresh flesh for good and durable salting. And this similitude is not rude, nor borrowed of the larder house, but out of his schoolhouse, of whom the wisest of England need not be ashamed to learn. Young grafts grow not only soonest but also fairest, and bring always forth the best and sweetest fruit; young whelps learn easily to carry; young popinjays learn quickly to speak. And so, to be short, if in all other things, though they lack reason, sense, and life, the similitude of youth is fittest to all goodness, surely nature, in mankind, is most beneficial and effectual in this behalf.

Therefore, if to the goodness of nature be joined the wisdom of the teacher in leading young wits into a

right and plain way of learning, surely children, kept up in God's fear, and governed by His grace, may most easily be brought well to serve God and country both by virtue and wisdom.

But if will and wit, by farther age, be once allured from innocency, delighted in vain sights, filled with foul talk, crooked with wilfulness, hardened with stubbornness, and let loose to disobedience, surely it is hard with gentleness, but impossible with severe cruelty, to call them back to good frame again. For, where the one perchance may bend it, the other shall surely break it; and so, instead of some hope, leave an assured desperation and shameless contempt of all goodness, the farthest point in all mischief, as Xenophon doth most truly and most wittily mark.

Therefore, to love or to hate, to like or contemn, to ply this way or that way to good or to bad, ye shall have as ye use a child in his youth.

And one example, whether love or fear doth work more in a child for virtue and learning, I will gladly report: which may be heard with some pleasure, and followed with more profit. Before I went into Germany I came to Broadgate, in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that noble Lady Jane Grey, to whom I was exceeding much beholding. Her parents, the duke and the duchess, with all the household, gentlemen, and gentlewomen, were hunting in the park. I found her in her chamber reading "Phædon Platonis" in Greek,

and that with as much delight as some gentlemen would read a merry tale in Bocase. After salutation and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her why she would lose such pastime in the park? Smiling, she answered me, "I wist all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant." "And how came you, madam," quoth I, "to this deep knowledge of pleasure, and what did chiefly allure you unto it, seeing, not many women, but very few men, have attained thereunto?" "I will tell you," quoth she; "and tell you a truth which, perchance, ye will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me is that He sent me so sharp and severe parents and so gentle a schoolmaster. For when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world, or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways which I will not name for the honour I bear them, so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell till time come that I must go to M. Elmer, who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing whilst I am with him. And when I am

called from him I fall on weeping, because whatsoever I do else but learning is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it, all other pleasures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me." I remember this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also it was the last talk that ever I had and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy lady.

I could be over long, both in showing just causes and in reciting true examples why learning should be taught rather by love than fear. He that would see a perfect discourse of it, let him read that learned treatise which my friend Joan. Sturmius wrote, "*De Institutione Principis*," to the Duke of Cleves.

The godly counsels of Solomon and Jesus, the son of Sirach, for sharp keeping in and bridling of youth, are meant rather for fatherly correction than masterly beating, rather for manners than for learning, for other places than for schools. For God forbid, but all evil touches wantonness, lying, picking, sloth, will, stubbornness, and disobedience should be with sharp chastisement daily cut away.

This discipline was well known and diligently used among the Grecians and old Romans, as doth appear in Aristophanes, Isocrates, and Plato, and also in the comedies of Plautus, where we see that children were

under the rule of three persons—preceptor, pedagogue, parent. The schoolmaster taught him learning with all gentleness, the governor corrected his manners with much sharpness, the father held the stern of his whole obedience; and so he that used to teach did not commonly use to beat, but remitted that over to another man's charge. But what shall we say when now in our days the schoolmaster is used both for preceptor in learning and pedagogue in manners? Surely I would he should not confound their offices, but discreetly use the duty of both, so that neither ill touches should be left unpunished nor gentleness in teaching anywise omitted. And he shall well do both if wisely he do appoint diversity of time and separate place for either purpose; using always such discreet moderation as the school-house should be counted a sanctuary against fear, and very well learning a common pardon for ill doing if the fault of itself be not over heinous.

And thus the children, kept up in God's fear and preserved by His grace, finding pain in ill doing, and pleasure in well studying, should easily be brought to honesty of life and perfectness of learning, the only mark that good and wise fathers do wish and labour that their children should most busily and carefully shoot at.

There is another discommodity besides cruelty in schoolmasters in beating away the love of learning from children, which hindereth learning and virtue

and good bringing up of youth, and namely young gentlemen, very much in England. This fault is clean contrary to the first. I wished before to have love of learning bred up in children. I wish as much now to have young men brought up in good order of living and in some more severe discipline than commonly they be. We have lack in England of such good order as the old noble Persians so carefully used, whose children, to the age of twenty-one years, were brought up in learning and exercises of labour, and that in such place where they should neither see that was uncomely nor hear that was unhonest. Yea, a young gentleman was never free to go where he would and do what he list himself, but under the keep and by the counsel of some grave governor, until he was either married or called to bear some office in the Commonwealth.

And see the great obedience that was used in old time to fathers and governors. No son, were he never so old of years, never so great of birth, though he were a king's son, might not marry but by his father's and mother's also consent. Cyrus the Great, after he had conquered Babylon and subdued rich King Crœsus with whole Asia Minor, coming triumphantly home, his uncle Cyaxeris offered him his daughter to wife. Cyrus thanked his uncle, and praised the maid, but for marriage he answered him with these wise and sweet words, as they be uttered by Xenophon, ὦ Κυαξάρη, τό

τε γένος ἐπαινῶ, καὶ τὴν παῖδα, καὶ δῶρα. Βούλομαι δὲ, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ καὶτῇ τῆς μητρὸς ταῦτά σοι συναινέσαι, etc.—that is to say, "Uncle Cyaxeris, I commend the stock, I like the maid, and I allow well the dowry, but," saith he, "by the counsel and consent of my father and mother I will determine farther of these matters."

Strong Samson also in Scripture saw a maid that liked him, but he spake not to her, but went home to his father and his mother and desired both father and mother to make the marriage for him. Doth this modesty, doth this obedience that was in great King Cyrus and stout Samson, remain in our young men at this day? No, surely; for we live not longer after them by time than we live far different from them by good order. Our time is so far from that old discipline and obedience as now, not only young gentlemen, but even very girls, dare without all fear, though not without open shame, where they list and how they list, marry themselves in spite of father, mother, God, good order, and all. The cause of this evil is that youth is least looked unto when they stand most need of good keep and regard. It availeth not to see them well taught in young years, and after when they come to lust and youthful days to give them licence to live as they lust themselves. For if ye suffer the eye of a young gentleman once to be entangled with vain sights and the ear to be corrupted with fond or filthy

talk the mind shall quickly fall sick, and soon vomit and cast up all the wholesome doctrine that he received in childhood, though he were never so well brought up before. And being once inglutted with vanity he will straightway loath all learning and all good counsel to the same. And the parents, for all their great cost and charge, reap only in the end the fruit of grief and care.

This evil is not common to poor men, as God will have it, but proper to rich and great men's children, as they deserve it. Indeed, from seven to seventeen young gentlemen commonly be carefully enough brought up. But from seventeen to seven-and-twenty (the most dangerous time of all a man's life, and most slippery to stay well in) they have commonly the rein of all licence in their own hand, and specially such as do live in the court. And that which is most to be marvelled at, commonly the wisest and also best men be found the fondest fathers in this behalf. And if some good father would seek some remedy herein, yet the mother (if the household of our lady) had rather, yea, and will too, have her son cunning and bold in making him to live trimly when he is young, than by learning and travel, to be able to serve his prince and his country both wisely in peace and stoutly in war when he is old.

The fault is in yourselves, ye noblemen's sons, and therefore ye deserve the greater blame that commonly

the meaner men's children come to be the wisest counsellors and greatest doers in the weighty affairs of this realm. And why? For God will have it so of His providence; because ye will have it no otherwise by your negligence.

And God is a good God, and wisest in all His doings that will place virtue and displace vice in those kingdoms where He doth govern. For He knoweth that nobility without virtue and wisdom is blood indeed, but blood truly without bones and sinews; and so of itself, without the other, very weak to bear the burden of weighty affairs.

The greatest ship, indeed, commonly carrieth the greatest burden, but yet always with the greatest jeopardy, not only for the persons and goods committed unto it, but even for the ship itself, except it be governed with the greatest wisdom.

But nobility governed by learning and wisdom is indeed most like a fair ship, having tide and wind at will, under the rule of a skilful master; when contrary wise a ship carried, yea, with the highest tide and greatest wind, lacking a skilful master, most commonly doth either sink itself upon sands or break itself upon rocks. And even so, how many have been either drowned in vain pleasure or overwhelmed by stout wilfulness, the histories of England be able to afford over many examples unto us. Therefore, ye great and noblemen's children, if ye will have rightfully that praise and

enjoy surely that place which your fathers have and elders had, and left unto you, ye must keep it as they got it, and that is by the only way of virtue, wisdom, and worthiness.

For wisdom and virtue there be many fair examples in this court for young gentlemen to follow. But they be like fair marks in the field out of a man's reach—too far off to shoot at well. The best and worthiest men indeed be sometimes seen, but seldom talked withal. A young gentleman may sometimes kneel to their person, but smally use their company for their better instruction.

But young gentlemen are fain commonly to do in the court as young archers do in the field—that is, take such marks as be nigh them, although they be never so foul to shoot at. I mean they be driven to keep company with the worst, and what force ill company hath to corrupt good wits the wisest men know best.

And not ill company only, but the ill opinion also of the most part, doth much harm, and namely of those which should be wise in the true deciphering of the good disposition of nature, of comeliness in courtly manners, and all right doings of men.

But error and phantasy do commonly occupy the place of truth and judgment. For if a young gentleman be demure and still of nature, they say he is simple and lacketh wit; if he be bashful, and will soon blush, they call him a babyish and ill-brought up thing.

When Xenophon doth precisely note in "Cyrus" that his bashfulness in youth was the very true sign of his virtue and stoutness after. If he be innocent and ignorant of ill they say he is rude and hath no grace, so ungraciously do some graceless men misuse the fair and godly word grace.

But if ye would know what grace they mean, go and look and learn amongst them, and ye shall see that it is; first, to blush at nothing. "And blushing in youth," says Aristotle, "is nothing else but fear to do ill, which fear being once lustily frayed away from youth, then followeth to dare do any mischief, to contemn stoutly any goodness, to be busy in every matter, to be skilful in everything, to acknowledge no ignorance at all." To do thus in court is counted of some the chief and greatest grace of all, and termed by the name of a virtue called courage and boldness, when Crassus in "Cicero" teacheth the clean contrary, and that most wittily, saying thus:—*Audere, cum bonis etiam rebus conjunctum, per seipsum est magnopere fugiendum.* Which is to say to be bold, yea, in a good matter, is for itself greatly to be eschewed.

Moreover, where the swing goeth, there to follow, fawn, flatter, laugh, and lie lustily at other men's liking. To face, stand foremost, shove back, and to the meaner man or unknown in the court to seem somewhat solemn, coy, big, and dangerous of look, talk, and answer; to think well of himself, to be lusty in con-

temning of others, to have some trim grace in a privy mock. And, in greater presence, to bear a brave look to be warlike, though he never looked enemy in the face in war: yet some warlike sign must be used, either a slovenly busking or an overstaring frounced head, as though out of every ear's top should suddenly start out a good big oath when need requireth, yet praised be God England hath at this time many worthy captains and good soldiers, which be indeed so honest of behaviour, so comely of conditions, so mild of manners, as they may be examples of good order to a good sort of others which never came in war. But to return where I left: in place also to be able to raise talk and make discourse of every rishe,* to have a very good will to hear himself speak, to be seen in palmistry, whereby to convey to chaste ears some fond or filthy talk.

And if some Smithfield ruffian take up some strange going, some new mowing with the mouth, some wrenching with the shoulder, some brave proverb, some fresh new oath that is not stale, but will ring round in the mouth, some new disguised garment or desperate hat, fond in fashion or garish in colour, whatsoever it cost, how small soever his living be, by what shift soever it be gotten, gotten must it be, and used with the first, or else the grace of it is stale and gone. Some part of this graceless grace was described by me in a little rude verse long ago:

* *Rishe*—rush, trifle.

To laugh, to lie, to flatter, to face :
Four ways in court to win men's grace.
If thou be thrall to none of these,
Away good Peek goes, hence John Cheese:
Mark well my word and mark their deed,
And think this verse part of thy creed.

Would to God this talk were not true, and that some men's doings were not thus. I write not to hurt any, but to profit some ; to accuse none, but to monish such who, allured by ill counsel and following ill example contrary to their good bringing up, and against their own good nature, yield overmuch to these follies and faults. I know many serving men of good order and well staid. And again I hear say there be some serving men do but ill service to their young masters. Yea, read Terence and Plautus advisedly over, and ye shall find in those two wise writers, almost in every comedy, no unthrifty young man that is not brought thereunto by the subtle enticement of some lewd servant. And even now in our days Getæ and Davi, Gnatos, and many bold, bawdy Phormios too, be pressing in, to prattle on every stage, to meddle in every matter when honest Parmenos shall not be heard, but bear small swing with their masters. Their company, their talk, their over great experience in mischief, doth easily corrupt the best natures and best brought up wits.

But I marvel the less that these misorders be

amongst some in the court, for commonly in the country also everywhere innocence is gone, bashfulness is banished, much presumption in youth, small authority in age, reverence is neglected, duties be confounded, and to be short, disobedience doth overflow the banks of good order almost in every place, almost in every degree of man.

Mean men have eyes to see and cause to lament and occasion to complain of these miseries, but others have authority to remedy them, and will do so too when God shall think time fit. For all these misorders be God's just plagues, by His sufferance brought justly upon us for our sins, which be infinite in number and horrible in deed, but namely for the great abominable sin of unkindness. But what unkindness? Even such unkindness as was in the Jews in contemning God's voice, in shrinking from His word, in wishing back again for Egypt, in committing adultery and whoredom, not with the women, but with the doctrine of Babylon, did bring all the plagues, destructions, and captivities, that fell so oft and horrible upon Israel.

We have cause also in England to beware of unkindness, who have had in so few years the candle of God's word so oft lightened, so oft put out, and yet will venture by our unthankfulness in doctrine and sinful life to lease again, light, candle, candlestick, and all.

God keep us in His fear, God graft in us the true

knowledge of His word, with a forward will to follow it, and so to bring forth the sweet fruits of it, and then shall He preserve us by His grace from all manner of terrible days.

The remedy of this doth not stand only in making good common laws for the whole realm, but also (and perchance chiefly) in observing private discipline every man carefully in his own house; and namely, if special regard be had to youth, and that not so much in teaching them what is good as in keeping them from that that is ill.

Therefore if wise fathers be not as well wary in weeding from their children ill things and ill company as they were before in grafting in them learning, and providing for them good schoolmasters, what fruit they shall reap of all their cost and care common experience doth tell.

Here is the place, in youth is the time when some ignorance is as necessary as much knowledge, and not in matters of our duty towards God as some wilful wits willingly against their own knowledge, perniciously against their own conscience, have of late openly taught. Indeed, St. Chrysostom, that noble and eloquent doctor, in a sermon *contra fatum*, and the curious searching of nativities, doth wisely say that ignorance therein is better than knowledge; but to wring this sentence, to wrest thereby out of men's hands the knowledge of God's doctrine, is without all

reason against common sense, contrary to the judgment also of them which be the discreetest men and best learned on their own side. I know Julianus Apostata did so, but I never heard or read that any ancient father of the primitive Church either thought or wrote so.

But this ignorance in youth which I spake on, or rather this simplicity, or most truly this innocence, is that which the noble Persians, as wise Xenophon doth testify, were so careful to breed up their youth in. But Christian fathers commonly do not so. And I will tell you a tale as much to be misliked as the Persians' example is to be followed.

This last summer I was in a gentleman's house, where a young child, somewhat past four years old, could in no wise frame his tongue to say a little short grace, and yet he could roundly rap out so many ugly oaths, and those of the newest fashion, as some good man of fourscore years old hath never heard named before; and that which was most detestable of all, his father and mother would laugh at it. I much doubt what comfort another day this child shall bring unto them. This child using much the company of serving men, and giving good ear to their talk, did easily learn which he shall hardly forget all days of his life hereafter; so likewise in the court, if a young gentleman will venture himself into the company of ruffians, it is over great a jeopardy lest their fashions, manners,

thoughts, talk, and deeds, will very soon be ever like. The confounding of companies breedeth confusion of good manners both in the court and everywhere else.

And it may be a great wonder, but a greater shame to us Christian men, to understand what a heathen writer, Isocrates, doth leave, in memory of writing concerning the care that the noble city of Athens had to bring up their youth in honest company and virtuous discipline, whose talk in Greek is to this effect in English.

"The city was not more careful to see their children well taught than to see their young men well governed, which they brought to pass, not so much by common law as by private discipline. For they had more regard that their youth by good order should not offend, than how by law they might be punished; and if offence were committed, there was neither way to hide it, neither hope of pardon for it. Good natures were not so much openly praised as they were secretly marked and watchfully regarded, lest they should lose the goodness they had. Therefore, in schools of singing and dancing, and other honest exercises, governors were appointed more diligent to oversee their good manners, than their masters were to teach them any learning. It was some shame to a young man to be seen in the open market; and if for business he passed through it, he did it with a marvellous modesty and bashful fashion. To eat or

drink in a tavern was not only a shame, but also punishable in a young man. To contrary or to stand in terms with an old man was more heinous than in some place to rebuke and scold with his own father ;" with many other more good orders and fair disciplines, which I refer to their reading that have lust to look upon the description of such a worthy commonwealth.

And to know what worthy fruit did spring of such worthy seed, I will tell you the most marvellous of all, and yet such a truth, as no man shall deny it, except such as be ignorant in knowledge of the best stories.

Athens, by this discipline and good ordering of youth, did breed up, within the circuit of that one city, within the compass of one hundred years, within the memory of one man's life, so many notable captains in war, for worthiness, wisdom, and learning, as be scarce matchable—no, not in the state of Rome, in the compass of those seven hundred years, when it flourished most.

And because I will not only say it, but also prove it, the names of them be these:—Miltiades, Themistocles, Xantippus, Pericles, Cimon, Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, Conon, Iphicrates, Xenophon, Timotheus, Theopompus, Demetrius, and divers other more: of which every one may justly be spoken that worthy praise which was given to Scipio Africanus, who, Cicero doubteth, whether he were more noble captain

in war or more eloquent and wise councillor in peace. And if ye believe not me, read diligently "Œmilius Probus" in Latin and "Plutarch" in Greek, which two had no cause either to flatter or lie upon any of those which I have recited.

And beside nobility in war, for excellent and matchless masters in all manner of learning in that one city, in memory of one age, were more learned men, and that in a manner altogether, than all time doth remember, than all place doth afford, than all other tongues do contain. And I do not mean of those authors which, by injury of time, by negligence of men, by cruelty of fire and sword, be lost, but even of those which by God's grace are left yet unto us—of which, I thank God, even my poor study lacketh not one. As in philosophy: Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Euclid, and Theophrast. In eloquence and civil law: Demosthenes, Æschines, Lycurgus, Dinarchus, Demades, Isocrates, Isæus, Lysias, Antisthenes, Andocides. In histories: Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and which we lack to our great loss, Theopompus and Ephorus. In poetry: Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides Aristophanes, and somewhat of Menander, Demosthenes' sister son.

Now, let Italian, and Latin itself, Spanish, French, Dutch, and English, bring forth their learning and recite their authors, Cicero only excepted, and one or two more in Latin, they be all patched clouts and

rags, in comparison of fair woven broadcloths. And truly, if there be any good in them, it is either learned, borrowed, or stolen, from some one of those worthy wits of Athens.

The remembrance of such a commonwealth, using such discipline and order for youth, and thereby bringing forth to their praise, and leaving to us for example, such captains for war, such councillors for peace, and matchless masters for all kind of learning, is pleasant for me to recite, and not irksome, I trust, for others to hear, except it be such as make neither count of virtue nor learning.

And whether there be any such or no, I cannot well tell; yet I hear say some young gentlemen of ours count it their shame to be counted learned; and, perchance, they count it their shame to be counted honest also, for I hear say they meddle as little with the one as with the other. A marvellous case that gentlemen should so be ashamed of good learning, and never a whit ashamed of ill-manners: such do lay for them that the gentlemen of France do so, which is a lie, as God will have it. Langæus and Bellæus that be dead, and the noble Vidam of Chartres, that is alive, and infinitely more in France, which I hear tell of, prove this to be most false. And though some in France which will needs be gentlemen, whether men will or no, and have more gentleship in their hat than in their head, be at deadly feud with both

learning and honesty, yet I believe if that noble prince, King Francis the First, were alive, they should have neither place in his court nor pension in his wars, if he had knowledge of them. This opinion is not French, but plain Turkish, from whence some French fetch more faults than this, which I pray God keep out of England, and send also those of ours better minds which bend themselves against virtue and learning to the contempt of God, dishonour of their country, to the hurt of many others, and at length to the greatest harm and utter destruction of themselves.

Some other having better nature but less wit (for ill commonly have overmuch wit), do not utterly dispraise learning, but they say, that without learning, common experience, knowledge of all fashions, and haunting all companies, shall work in youth both wisdom and ability to execute any weighty affair. Surely long experience doth profit much, but most, and almost only to him (if we mean honest affairs) that is diligently before instructed with precepts of well-doing. For good precepts of learning be the eyes of the mind to look wisely before a man which way to go right, and which not.

Learning teacheth more in one year than experience in twenty; and learning teacheth safely when experience maketh more miserable than wise. He hazardeth sore that waxeth wise by experience. An unhappy

master he is that is made cunning by many shipwrecks; a miserable merchant, that is neither rich nor wise but after some bankruptcies. It is costly wisdom that is bought by experience. We know by experience itself that it is a marvellous pain to find out but a short way by long wandering; and surely he that would prove wise by experience, he may be witty indeed, but even like a swift runner, that runneth fast out of his way, and upon the night, he knoweth not whither. And verily they be fewest of number that be happy or wise by unlearned experience. And look well upon the former life of those few, whether your example be old or young, who without learning have gathered, by long experience, a little wisdom and some happiness; and when you do consider what mischief they have committed, what dangers they have escaped (and yet twenty for one do perish in the adventure), then think well with yourself whether ye would that your own son should come to wisdom and happiness by the way of such experience or no.

It is a notable tale, that old Sir Roger Chamloe, sometime Chief Justice, would tell of himself. When he was Ancient in Inn of Court, certain young gentlemen were brought before him to be corrected for certain misorders. And one of the lustiest said: "Sir, we be young gentlemen, and wise men before us have proved all fashions, and yet those have done full well;" this they said because it was well known that Sir

Roger had been a good fellow in his youth. But he answered them very wisely. "Indeed," saith he, "in youth I was as you are now; and I had twelve fellows like unto myself, but not one of them came to a good end. And therefore follow not my example in youth, but follow my council in age, if ever ye think to come to this place, or to these years, that I am come unto, lest ye meet either with poverty or Tyburn in the way."

Thus experience of all fashions in youth, being in proof always dangerous, in issue seldom lucky, is a way indeed to overmuch knowledge, yet used commonly of such men, which be either carried by some curious affection of mind, or driven by some hard necessity of life to hazard the trial of over many perilous adventures.

Erasmus, the honour of learning of all our time, said wisely that experience is the common schoolhouse of fools and ill men. Men of wit and honesty be otherwise instructed, for there be that keep them out of fire, and yet was never burned; that beware of water, and yet was never nigh drowning; that hate harlots, and was never at the stews; that abhor falsehood, and never break promises themselves.

But will ye see a fit similitude of this adventured experience? A father that doth let loose his son to all experiences is most like a fond hunter that letteth slip a whelp to the whole herd. Twenty to one he

shall fall upon a rascal and let go the fair game. Men that hunt so be either ignorant persons, privy stealers, or night walkers.

Learning, therefore, ye wise fathers, and good bringing up, and not blind and dangerous experience, is the next and readiest way that must lead your children first to wisdom and then to worthiness, if ever ye purpose they shall come there.

And to say all in short, though I lack authority to give counsel, yet I lack not goodwill to wish that the youth in England, especially gentlemen—and, namely, nobility—should be by good bringing up so grounded in judgment of learning, so founded in love of honesty, as when they should be called forth to the execution of great affairs, in service of their prince and country, they might be able to use and to order all experiences, were they good, were they bad, and that according to the square, rule, and line of wisdom, learning, and virtue.

And I do not mean by all this my talk that young gentlemen should always be poring on a book, and by using good studies should leave honest pleasure and haunt no good pastime—I mean nothing less—for it is well known that I both like and love, and have always, and do yet still use, all exercises and pastimes that be fit for my nature and ability. And beside natural disposition, in judgment also I was never either stoic in doctrine or anabaptist in religion

to mislike a merry, pleasant, and playful nature, if no outrage be committed against law, measure, and good order.

Therefore I would wish that, besides some good time fitly appointed and constantly kept, to increase by reading the knowledge of the tongues and learning, young gentlemen should use and delight in all courtly exercises and gentlemanlike pastimes. And good cause why: for the selfsame noble city of Athens, justly commended of me before, did wisely and upon great consideration appoint the muses Apollo and Pallas to be patrons of learning to their youth. For the muses, besides learning, were also ladies of dancing, mirth, and minstrelsy. Apollo was god of shooting and author of cunning playing upon instruments; Pallas also was lady mistress in wars. Whereby was nothing else meant, but that learning should be always mingled with honest mirth and comely exercises; and that war also should be governed by learning and moderated by wisdom, as did well appear in those captains of Athens named by me before, and also in Scipio and Cæsar, the two diamonds of Rome.

And Pallas was no more feared, in wearing Ægida, than she was praised for choosing Oliva: whereby shineth the glory of learning, which thus was governor and mistress. in the noble city of Athens, both of war and peace.

Therefore, to ride comely; to run fair at the tilt or ring; to play at all weapons; to shoot fair in bow or surely in gun; to vault lustily; to run, to leap, to wrestle, to swim; to dance comely; to sing, and play of instruments cunningly; to hawk, to hunt, to play at tennis, and all pastimes generally, which be joined with labour, used in open place, and on the daylight containing either some fit exercise for war, or some pleasant pastime for peace, be not only comely and decent, but also very necessary, for a courtly gentleman to use.

But of all kind of pastimes fit for a gentleman, I will, God willing, in fitter place, more at large, declare fully, in my book of the "Cockpit," which I do write to satisfy some I trust, with some reason, that be more curious in marking other men's doings than careful in mending their own faults. And some also will needs busy themselves in marvelling, and adding thereunto unfriendly talk, why I, a man of good years, and of no ill place, I thank God and my prince, do make choice to spend such time in writing of trifles, as the "School of Shooting, "The Cockpit," and this book of the "First Principles of Grammar," rather than to take some weighty matter in hand, either of religion or civil discipline.

Wise men, I know, will well allow of my choice herein: and as for such, who have not wit of themselves, but must learn of others, to judge right of men's doings

let them read that wise poet Horace in his "Ars Poetica," who willeth wise men to beware of high and lofty titles. For great ships require costly tackling, and also afterward dangerous government; small boats be neither very chargeable in making, nor very oft in great jeopardy, and yet they carry many times as good and costly ware, as greater vessels do. A mean argument may easily bear the light burden of a small fault and have always at hand a ready excuse for ill handling: and some praise it is, if it so chance, to be better in deed than a man dare venture to seem. A high title doth charge a man with the heavy burden of too great a promise; and therefore, saith Horace very wittily, that that poet was a very fool that began his book with a goodly verse indeed, but over proud a a promise.

Fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.

And after, as wisely,

Quantò rectiùs hic, qui nil molitur ineptè, etc.

Meaning Homer, who, within the compass of a small argument, of one harlot, and of one good wife, did utter so much learning in all kind of sciences, as, by the judgment of Quintilian, he deserveth so high a praise, that no man yet deserved to sit in the second degree beneath him. And thus much out of my way, concerning my purpose in spending pen, and paper, and

time upon trifles, and namely to answer some that have neither wit nor learning to do anything themselves, neither will nor honesty to say well of others.

To join learning with comely exercises, Count Baldassare Castiglione, in his book, "Cortegiano," doth trimly teach; which book, advisedly read, and diligently followed, but one year at home in England, would do a young gentleman more good, I wist, than three years' travel abroad spent in Italy. And I marvel this book is no more read in the court than it is, seeing it is so well translated into English by a worthy gentleman, Sir Thomas Hobbie, who was many ways well furnished with learning, and very expert in knowledge of divers tongues.

And beside good precepts in books, in all kind of tongues, this court also never lacked many fair examples for young gentlemen to follow. And surely one example is more available, both to good and ill, than twenty precepts written in books; and so Plato, not in one or two, but divers places, doth plainly teach.

If King Edward had lived a little longer, his only example had bred such a race of worthy learned gentlemen as this realm never yet did afford.

And in the second degree, two noble primroses of nobility, the young Duke of Suffolk and Lord H. Matrevers, were such two examples to the court for

learning as our time may rather wish than look for again.

At Cambridge also, in St. John's College, in my time, I do know that not so much the good statutes, as two gentlemen of worthy memory, Sir John Cheke and Doctor Readman, by their only example of excellency in learning, of godliness in living, of diligency in studying, of counsel in exhorting, of good order in all things, did breed up so many learned men in that one College of St. John's at one time, as, I believe, the whole University of Lovaine in many years was never able to afford.

Present examples of this present time I list not to touch; yet there is one example for all the gentlemen of this court to follow, that may well satisfy them, or nothing will serve them, nor no example move them to goodness and learning.

It is your shame (I speak to you all, you young gentlemen of England) that one maid should go beyond you all, in excellency of learning and knowledge of divers tongues. Point forth six of the best given gentlemen of this court, and all they together show not so much goodwill, spend not so much time, bestow not so many hours daily, orderly and constantly, for the increase of learning and knowledge, as doth the Queen's Majesty herself. Yea, I believe that beside her perfect readiness in Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish, she readeth here now at Windsor more Greek

every day than some prebendary of this church doth read Latin in a whole week. And that which is most praiseworthy of all, within the walls of her privy chamber she hath obtained that excellency of learning, to understand, speak, and write, both wittily with head and fair with hand, as scarce one or two rare wits in both the Universities have in many years reached unto. Amongst all the benefits that God hath blessed me withal, next the knowledge of Christ's true religion, I count this the greatest, that it pleased God to call me to be one poor minister in setting forward these excellent gifts of learning in this most excellent prince; whose only example if the rest of our nobility would follow, then might England be for learning and wisdom in nobility a spectacle to all the world beside. But see the mishap of men; the best examples have never such force to move to any goodness as the bad, vain, light, and fond have to all illness.

And one example, though out of the compass of learning, yet not out of the order of good manners, was notable in this court not fully twenty-four years ago, when all the Acts of Parliament, many good proclamations, divers strait commandments, for punishment openly, special regard privately, could not do so much to take away one misorder, as the example of one big one of this court did still to keep up the same; the memory whereof doth yet remain in a common proverb of Birching Lane.

Take heed, therefore, ye great ones in the court, yea, though ye be the greatest of all, take heed what ye do, take heed how ye live. For as you great ones use to do, so all mean men love to do. You be indeed makers or marrers of all men's manners within the realm. For though God hath placed you to be chief in making of laws, to bear greatest authority, to command all others; yet God doth order that all your laws, all your authority, all your commandments, do not half so much with mean men as doth your example and manner of living. And for example even in the greatest matter, if you yourselves do serve God gladly and orderly for conscience sake, not coldly and sometimes for manner sake, you carry all the court with you and the whole realm beside earnestly and orderly to do the same. If you do otherwise, you be the only authors of all misorders in religion not only to the court, but to all England beside. Infinite shall be made cold in religion by your example, that never were hurt by reading of books.

And in meaner matters, if three or four great ones in court will needs outrage in apparel, in huge hose, in monstrous hats, in garish colours, let the prince proclaim, make laws, order, punish, command every gate in London daily to be watched, let all good men beside do everywhere what they can, surely the misorder of apparel in mean men abroad shall never be amended, except the greatest in court will order and mend them-

selves first. I know some great and good ones in court were authors that honest citizens of London should watch at every gate, to take misordered persons in apparel. I know that honest Londoners did so. And I saw, which I saw then, and report now with some grief, that some courtly men were offended with these good men of London. And that which grieved me most of all I saw the very same time, for all these good orders commanded from the court and executed in London—I saw, I say, come out of London, even unto the presence of the prince, a great rabble of mean and light persons in apparel, for matter, against law, for making, against order, for fashion—namely, hose—so without all order, as he thought himself most brave that durst do most in breaking order and was most monstrous in misorder. And for all the great commandments that came out of the court, yet this bold misorder was winked at and borne withal in the court. I thought it was not well that some great ones of the court durst declare themselves offended with good men of London for doing their duty, and the good ones of the court would not show themselves offended with ill men of London for breaking good order. I found thereby a saying of Socrates to be most true, that ill men be more hasty than good men be forward to prosecute their purposes, even as Christ Himself saith of the children of light and darkness.

Beside apparel, in all other things too, not so much good laws and strait commandments, as the example and manner of living of great men, doth carry all mean men everywhere to like and love and do as they do. For if but two or three noble men in the court would but begin to shoot, all young gentlemen, the whole court, all London, the whole realm, would straightway exercise shooting.

What praise should they win to themselves, what commodity should they bring to their country, that would thus deserve to be pointed at: Behold, there goeth the author of good order, the guide of good men. I could say more, and yet not over-much. But, perchance, some will say I have stepped too far out of my school into the commonwealth, from teaching a young scholar to monish great and noble men; yet I trust good and wise men will think and judge of me that my mind was not so much to be busy and bold with them that be great now, as to give true advice to them that may be great hereafter. Who, if they do as I wish them to do, how great soever they be now by blood and other men's means, they shall become a great deal greater hereafter by learning, virtue, and their own deserts, which is true praise, right worthiness, and very nobility indeed. Yet if some will needs press me that I am too bold with great men and stray too far from my matter, I will answer them with St. Paul, *sive per contentionem, sive*

quocunque modo, modò Christus prædicetur, etc., even so, whether in place or out of place, with my matter or beside my matter, if I can hereby either provoke the good or stay the ill, I shall think my writing herein well employed.

But to come down from great men and higher matters to my little children and poor schoolhouse again, I will, God willing, go forward orderly, as I purposed, to instruct children and young men both for learning and manners.

Hitherto I have showed what harm over-much fear bringeth to children, and what ill company and over-much liberty breedeth in youth, meaning thereby that from seven years old to seventeen love is the best allurement to learning; from seventeen to seven-and-twenty that wise men should carefully see the steps of youth surely stayed by good order in that most slippery time; and especially in the court, a place most dangerous for youth to live in, without great grace, good regard, and diligent looking to.

Sir Richard Sackville, that worthy gentleman of worthy memory, as I said in the beginning, in the Queen's privy chamber at Windsor, after he had talked with me for the right choice of a good wit in a child for learning, and of the true difference betwixt quick and hard wits, of alluring young children by gentleness to love learning, and of the special care that was to be had to keep young men from licen-

tious living, he was most earnest with me to have me say my mind also what I thought concerning the fancy that many young gentlemen of England have to travel abroad, and namely to lead a long life in Italy. His request, both for his authority and good-will toward me, was a sufficient commandment unto me to satisfy his pleasure with uttering plainly my opinion in that matter. "Sir," quoth I, "I take going thither and living there, for a young gentleman that doth not go under the keep and guard of such a man as both by wisdom can and authority dare rule him, to be marvellous dangerous. And why I said so then I will declare at large now; which I said then privately and write now openly, not because I do contemn either the knowledge of strange and divers tongues, and namely the Italian tongue, which next the Greek and Latin tongue I like and love above all other; or else because I do despise the learning that is gotten or the experience that is gathered in strange countries; or for any private malice that I bear to Italy, which country, and in it namely Rome, I have always specially honoured; because time was when Italy and Rome have been, to the great good of us that now live, the best breeders and bringers-up of the worthiest men, not only for wise speaking, but also for well-doing in all civil affairs, that ever was in the world. But now that time is gone, and though the place remain, yet the old and present manners do

differ as far as black and white, as virtue and vice. Virtue once made that country mistress over all the world. Vice now maketh that country slave to them that before were glad to serve it. All men seeth it; they themselves confess it, namely such as be best and wisest amongst them. For sin by lust and vanity hath and doth breed up everywhere common contempt of God's word, private contention in many families, open factions in every city; and so, making themselves bound to vanity and vice at home, they are content to bear the yoke of serving strangers abroad. Italy now is not that Italy that it was wont to be, and therefore not so fit a place as some do count it for young men to fetch either wisdom or honesty from thence. For surely they will make others but bad scholars that be so ill masters to themselves. Yet if a gentleman will needs travel into Italy, he shall do well to look on the life of the wisest traveller that ever travelled thither, set out by the wisest writer that ever spake with tongue, God's doctrine only excepted, and that is Ulysses in Homer. Ulysses and his travel I wish our travellers to look upon, not so much to fear them with the great dangers that he many times suffered, as to instruct them with his excellent wisdom which he always and everywhere used. Yea, even those that be learned and witty travellers, when they may be disposed to praise travelling, as a great commendation and the best

scripture they have for it, they gladly recite the third verse of Homer in his first book of "Odyssey," containing a great praise of Ulysses for the wit he gathered and wisdom he used in his travelling.

Which verse, because in mine opinion it was not made at the first more naturally in Greek by Homer, nor after turned more aptly into Latin by Horace, than it was a good while ago in Cambridge translated into English, both plainly for the sense and roundly for the verse, by one of the best scholars that ever St. John's College bred, M. Watson, mine old friend, sometime Bishop of Lincoln, therefore, for their sake that have lust to see how our English tongue, in avoiding barbarous rhyming, may as well receive right quantity of syllables and true order of versifying (of which matter more at large hereafter), as either Greek or Latin, if a cunning man have it in handling, I will set forth that one verse in all three tongues, for an example to good wits that shall delight in like learned exercise.

πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω.

HOMERUS. (Od. i. 3.)

"*Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes.*"

HORATIUS. (A. P. 142.

"All travellers do gladly report great praise of Ulysses,
For that he knew many men's manners, and saw many cities."

M. WATSON.

And yet is not Ulysses commended so much, nor so oft, in Homer, because he was πολύτροπος, that is, skilful in many men's manners and fashions, as because he was πολύμητις, that is, wise in all purposes and wary in all places; which wisdom and wariness will not serve neither a traveller, except Pallas be always at his elbow, that is God's special grace from heaven to keep him in God's fear in all his doings, in all his journeys. For he shall not always in his absence out of England light upon a gentle Alcinous, and walk in his fair gardens full of all harmless pleasures; but he shall sometimes fall, either into the hands of some cruel Cyclops, or into the lap of some wanton and dallying dame Calypso; and so suffer the danger of many a deadly den, not so full of perils to destroy the body, as full of vain pleasures to poison the mind. Some siren shall sing him a song sweet in tune, but sounding in the end to his utter destruction. If Scylla drown him not, Charybdis may fortune swallow him. Some Circe shall make him, of a plain Englishman, a right Italian. And at length to hell or to some hellish place is he likely to go: from whence is hard returning, although one Ulysses, and that by Pallas's aid and good counsel of Tiresias, once escaped that horrible den of deadly darkness.

Therefore if wise men will needs send their sons into Italy, let them do it wisely, under the keep and guard of him who by his wisdom and honesty, by his

example and authority, may be able to keep them safe and sound, in the fear of God, in Christ's true religion, in good order and honesty of living; except they will have them run headlong into over-many jeopardies, as Ulysses had done many times, if Pallas had not always governed him; if he had not used to stop his ears with wax; to bind himself to the mast of his ship; to feed daily upon that sweet herb Moly, with the black root and white flower, given unto him by Mercury to avoid all the enchantments of Circe. Whereby the divine poet Homer meant covertly (as wise and godly men do judge) that love of honesty and hatred of ill, which David doth more plainly call the fear of God; the only remedy against all enchantments of sin.

I know divers noble personages and many worthy gentlemen of England, whom all the siren songs of Italy could never untwine from the mast of God's word; nor no enchantment of vanity overturn them from the fear of God and the love of honesty.

But I know as many or more, and some sometime my dear friends, for whose sake I hate going into that country the more, who parting out of England fervent in the love of Christ's doctrine and well furnished with the fear of God, returned out of Italy worse transformed than ever was any in Circe's Court. I know divers that went out of England men of innocent life, men of excellent learning, who returned out of Italy not only with worse manners, but also with less learn-

ing; neither so willing to live orderly, nor yet so able to speak learnedly, as they were at home, before they went abroad. And why? Plato, that wise writer, and worthy traveller himself, telleth the cause why. He went into Sicily, a country no nigher Italy by site of place than Italy that is now is like Sicily that was then in all corrupt manners and licentiousness of life. Plato found in Sicily every city full of vanity, full of factions, even as Italy is now. And as Homer, like a learned poet, doth feign that Circe by pleasant enchantments did turn men into beasts, some into swine, some into asses, some into foxes, some into wolves, etc., even so Plato, like a wise philosopher, doth plainly declare that pleasure by licentious vanity, that sweet and perilous poison of all youth, doth engender in all those that yield up themselves to her four notorious properties:—

1. λήθην.
2. δυσμαθίαν.
3. ἀφροσύνην.
4. ὕβριν.

The first, forgetfulness of all good things learned before; the second, dulness to receive either learning or honesty ever after; the third, a mind embracing lightly the worse opinion, and barren of discretion to make true difference betwixt good and ill, betwixt truth and vanity; the fourth, a proud disdainfulness of other good men in all honest matters. Homer and

Plato have both one meaning, look both to one end. For if a man inglut himself with vanity or wallow in filthiness like a swine, all learning, all goodness, is soon forgotten. Then quickly shall he become a dull ass to understand either learning or honesty; and yet shall he be as subtle as a fox in breeding of mischief, in bringing in misorder, with a busy head, a discoursing tongue, and a factious heart, in every private affair, in all matters of state, with this pretty property, always glad to commend the worse party, and ever ready to defend the falser opinion. And why? For where will is given from goodness to vanity, the mind is soon carried from right judgment to any fond opinion in religion, in philosophy, or any other kind of learning. The fourth fruit of vain pleasures, by Homer and Plato's judgment, is pride in themselves, contempt of others, the very badge of all those that serve in Circe's Court. The true meaning of both Homer and Plato is plainly declared in one short sentence of the holy prophet of God, Jeremiah, crying out of the vain and vicious life of the Israelites. "This people," saith he, "be fools and dullheads to all goodness, but subtle, cunning, and bold in any mischief," etc.

The true medicine against the enchantments of Circe, the vanity of licentious pleasure, the enticements of all sin, is in Homer the herb Moly, with the black root and white flower, sour at the first, but sweet in the end; which Hesiodus termeth the study of virtue,

hard and irksome in the beginning, but in the end easy and pleasant. And that which is most to be marvelled at, the divine poet Homer saith plainly that this medicine against sin and vanity is not found out by man, but given and taught by God. And for some one sake that will have delight to read that sweet and godly verse, I will recite the very words of Homer, and also turn them into rude English metre.

χαλεπὸν δέ τ' ὀρύσσειν
ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι, θεοὶ δέ τε πάντα δύνανται.

In English thus :—

"No mortal man with sweat of brow, or toil of mind,
But only God, who can do all, that herb doth find."

Plato also, that divine philosopher, hath many godly medicines against the poison of vain pleasure in many places, but specially in his Epistles to Dionysius, the Tyrant of Sicily; yet against those that will needs become beasts with serving of Circe, the prophet David crieth most loud, "*Nolite fieri sicut equus et mulus;*" and by-and-by giveth the right medicine, the true herb Moly: "*In camo et freno maxillas eorum constringe,*" that is to say, Let God's grace be the bit, let God's fear be the bridle, to stay them from running headlong into vice and to turn them into the right way again. David in the second Psalm after giveth the same medicine, but in these plainer words, "*Diverte a*

malo et fac bonum." But I am afraid that over-many of our travellers into Italy do not eschew the way to Circe's Court, but go and ride, and run, and fly thither; they make great haste to come to her; they make great suit to serve her; yea, I could point out some with my finger that never had gone out of England but only to serve Circe in Italy. Vanity and vice and any licence to ill living in England was counted stale and rude unto them. And so, being mules and horses before they went, returned very swine and asses home again; yet everywhere very foxes with subtle and busy heads; and where they may, very wolves with cruel malicious hearts. A marvellous monster, which for filthiness of living, for dulness of learning himself, for wiliness in dealing with others, for malice in hurting without cause, should carry at once in one body the belly of a swine, the head of an ass, the brain of a fox, the womb of a wolf. If you think we judge amiss and write too sore against you, hear what the Italian saith of the Englishman, what the master reporteth of the scholar; who uttereth plainly what is taught by him and what is learned by you, saying, "*Inglese Italianato e un diabolo incarnato,*" that is to say, you remain men in shape and fashion, but become devils in life and condition. This is not the opinion of one for some private spite, but the judgment of all in a common proverb, which riseth of that learning and those manners which you gather in Italy:

a good schoolhouse of household doctrine, and worthy masters of commendable scholars, where the master had rather defame himself for his teaching, than not shame his scholar for his learning. A good nature of the master, and fair conditions of the scholars. And now choose you, you Italian Englishmen, whether you will be angry with us for calling you monsters, or with the Italians for calling you devils, or else with your own selves that take so much pains and go so far to make yourselves both. If some yet do not well understand what is an Englishman Italianated, I will plainly tell him. He that by living and travelling in Italy bringeth home into England out of Italy the religion, the learning, the policy, the experience, the manners of Italy. That is to say, for religion, Papistry or worse; for learning, less commonly than they carried out with them; for policy, a factious heart, a discoursing head, a mind to meddle in all men's matters; for experience, plenty of new mischiefs never known in England before; for manners, variety of vanities and change of filthy living. These be the enchantments of Circe, brought out of Italy to mar men's manners in England; much by example of ill life, but more by precepts of fond books of late translated out of Italian into English, sold in every shop in London, commended by honest titles the sooner to corrupt honest manners; dedicated over-boldly to virtuous and honourable personages, the easier to beguile simple and innocent

wits. It is pity that those which have authority and charge to allow and disallow books to be printed, be no more circumspect herein than they are. Ten sermons at Paul's Cross do not so much good for moving men to true doctrine as one of those books do harm with enticing men to ill living. Yea, I say farther, those books tend not so much to corrupt honest living as they do to subvert true religion. More Papists be made by your merry books of Italy than by your earnest books of Lovaine. And because our great physicians do wink at the matter, and make no count of this sore, I, though not admitted one of their fellowship, yet having been many years a prentice to God's true religion, and trust to continue a poor journeyman therein all days of my life, for the duty I owe and the love I bear both to true doctrine and honest living, though I have no authority to amend the sore myself, yet I will declare my good-will to discover the sore to others.

St. Paul saith that sects and ill opinions be the works of the flesh and fruits of sin. This is spoken no more truly for the doctrine than sensible for the reason. And why? For ill doings breed ill thinkings. And of corrupted manners spring perverted judgments. And how? There be in man two special things: man's will, man's mind. Where will inclineth to goodness, the mind is bent to truth. Where will is carried from goodness to vanity, the mind is soon drawn from truth

to false opinion. And so the readiest way to entangle the mind with false doctrine is first to entice the will to wanton living. Therefore when the busy and open Papists abroad could not by their contentious books turn men in England fast enough from truth and right judgment in doctrine, then the subtle and secret Papists at home procured bawdy books to be translated out of the Italian tongue, whereby over-many young wills and wits allured to wantonness do now boldly contemn all severe books that sound to honesty and godliness. In our forefathers' time, when Papistry, as a standing pool, covered and overflowed all England few books were read in our tongue, saving certain books of chivalry, as they said, for pastime and pleasure, which, as some say, were made in monasteries by idle monks or wanton canons: as one, for example, "Morte Arthur," the whole pleasure of which book standeth in two special points—in open manslaughter and bold bawdry. In which book those be counted the noblest knights that do kill most men without any quarrel, and commit foulest adulteries by subtlest shifts: as Sir Launcelot with the wife of King Arthur, his master; Sir Tristram with the wife of King Mark, his uncle; Sir Lamerock with the wife of King Lote, that was his own aunt. This is good stuff for wise men to laugh at or honest men to take pleasure at! Yet I know when God's Bible was banished the Court, and "Morte Arthur" received into the prince's chamber. What toys the

daily reading of such a book may work in the will of a young gentleman or a young maid that liveth wealthily and idly, wise men can judge and honest men do pity. And yet ten "Morte Arthurs" do not the tenth part so much harm as one of these books made in Italy and translated in England. They open not fond and common ways to vice, but such subtle, cunning, new, and diverse shifts to carry young wills to vanity and young wits to mischief, to teach old bawds new school-points, as the simple head of an Englishman is not able to invent, nor never was heard of in England before; yea, when Papistry overflowed all. Suffer these books to be read, and they shall soon displace all books of godly learning. For they, carrying the will to vanity and marring good manners, shall easily corrupt the mind with ill opinions and false judgment in doctrine: first to think ill of all true religion, and at last to think nothing of God Himself—one special point that is to be learned in Italy and Italian books. And that which is most to be lamented, and therefore more needful to be looked to, there be more of these ungracious books set out in print within these few months than have been seen in England many score years before. And because our Englishmen made Italians cannot hurt, but certain persons and in certain places, therefore these Italian books are made English to bring mischief enough openly and boldly to all states, great and mean, young and old, everywhere.

And thus you see how will enticed to wantonness doth easily allure the mind to false opinions; and how corrupt manners in living breed false judgment in doctrine; how sin and fleshliness bring forth sects and heresies. And, therefore, suffer not vain books to breed vanity in men's wills if you would have God's truth take root in men's minds.

That Italian that first invented the Italian proverb against our Englishmen Italianated, meant no more their vanity in living than their lewd opinion in religion. For in calling them devils he carrieth them clean from God; and yet he carrieth them no farther than they willingly go themselves—that is, where they may freely say their minds—to the open contempt of God and all godliness, both in living and doctrine.

And how? I will express how, not by a fable of Homer, nor by the philosophy of Plato, but by a plain truth of God's Word, sensibly uttered by David thus: "These men, *abominabiles facti in studiis suis*, think verily and sing gladly the verse before, *Dixit insipiens in corde suo, non est Deus*"—that is to say, they giving themselves up to vanity, shaking off the motions of grace, driving from them the fear of God, and running headlong into all sin, first lustily contemn God, then scornfully mock His Word, and also spitefully hate and hurt all well-willers thereof. Then they have in more reverence the triumphs of Petrarch than the Genesis of Moses. They make more account of Tully's

offices than St. Paul's Epistles; of a tale in Boccaccio than a story of the Bible. Then they count as fables the holy mysteries of Christian religion. They make Christ and His Gospel only serve civil policy. Then neither religion cometh amiss to them. In time they be promoters of both openly: in place, again, mockers of both privily, as I wrote once in a rude rhyme:—

"Now new, now old, now both, now neither,
To serve the world's course, they care not with whether."

For where they dare, in company where they like, they boldly laugh to scorn both Protestant and Papist. They care for no Scripture; they make no count of General Councils; they contemn the consent of the Church; they pass for no doctors; they mock the Pope; they rail on Luther; they allow neither side; they like none, but only themselves. The mark they shoot at, the end they look for, the heaven they desire, is only their own present pleasure and private profit; whereby they plainly declare of whose school, of what religion they be—that is, epicures in living and ἄθεοι in doctrine. This last word is no more unknown now to plain Englishmen than the person was unknown some time in England, until some Englishman took pains to fetch that devilish opinion out of Italy. These men, thus Italianated abroad, cannot abide our godly Italian Church at home; they be not of that parish; they be not of that fellowship; they like not the preacher;

they hear not his sermons, except sometimes for company they come thither to hear the Italian tongue naturally spoken, not to hear God's doctrine truly preached.

And yet these men in matters of divinity openly pretend a great knowledge, and have privately to themselves a very compendious understanding of all, which, nevertheless, they will utter when and where they list. And that is this: all the mysteries of Moses, the whole law and ceremonies, the Psalms and prophets, Christ and His Gospel, God and the devil, heaven and hell, faith, conscience, sin, death, and all they shortly wrap up, they quickly expound with this one half verse of Horace (*Sat.* i. 5, 100):—

"Credat Judæus Apella."

Yet though in Italy they may freely be of no religion, as they are in England in very deed to, nevertheless, returning home into England they must countenance the profession of the one or the other, however inwardly they laugh to scorn both. And though for their private matters they can follow, fawn, and flatter noble personages contrary to them in all respects, yet commonly they ally themselves with the worst Papists, to whom they be wedded, and do well agree together in three proper opinions: in open contempt of God's Word; in a secret security of sin; and in a bloody desire to have all taken away by sword

or burning that be not of their faction. They that do read with indifferent judgment Pygius and Machiavelli, two indifferent patriarchs of these two religions, do know full well that I say true.

Ye see what manners and doctrine our Englishmen fetch out of Italy. For, finding no other there, they can bring no other hither. And therefore many godly and excellent learned Englishmen, not many years ago, did make a better choice, when open cruelty drove them out of this country, to place themselves there where Christ's doctrine, the fear of God, punishment of sin, and discipline of honesty were had in special regard.

I was once in Italy myself; but I thank God my abode there was but nine days. And yet I saw in that little time in one city more liberty to sin than ever I heard tell of in our noble City of London in nine years. I saw it was there as free to sin not only without all punishment, but also without any man's marking, as it is free in the City of London to choose without all blame whether a man lust to wear shoe or pantocle. And good cause why; for being unlike in truth of religion, they must needs be unlike in honesty of living. For blessed be Christ, in our City of London commonly the commandments of God be more diligently taught, and the service of God more reverently used, and that daily in many private men's houses, than they be in Italy once a week in their common churches; where making ceremonies to delight the eye, and vain

sounds to please the ear, do quite thrust out of the churches all service of God in spirit and truth. Yea, the Lord Mayor of London, being but a civil officer, is commonly for his time more diligent in punishing sin, the bent enemy against God and good order, than all the bloody inquisitors in Italy be in seven years. For their care and charge is not to punish sin, not to amend manners, not to purge doctrine, but only to watch and oversee that Christ's true religion set no sure footing where the Pope hath any jurisdiction. I learned when I was at Venice that there it is counted good policy, when there be four or five brethren of one family, one only to marry, and all the rest to welter with as little shame in open lechery as swine do here in the common mire. Yea, there be as fair houses of religion, as great provision, as diligent officers to keep up this misorder, as Bridewell is and all the masters there to keep down misorder. And, therefore, if the Pope himself do not only grant pardons to further these wicked purposes abroad in Italy, but also (although this present Pope in the beginning made some show of misliking thereof) assign both meed and merit to the maintenance of stews and brothel-houses at home in Rome, then let wise men think Italy a safe place for wholesome doctrine and godly manners, and a fit school for young gentlemen of England to be brought up in!

Our Italians bring home with them other faults from Italy, though not so great as this of religion, yet a

great deal greater than many good men can well bear. For commonly they come home common contemners of marriage and ready persuaders of all others to the same; not because they love virginity, nor yet because they hate pretty young virgins, but, being free in Italy to go whithersoever lust will carry them, they do not like that law and honesty should be such a bar to their like liberty at home in England. And yet they be the greatest makers of love, the daily dalliers, with such pleasant words, with such smiling and secret countenances, with such signs, tokens, wagers, purposed to be lost before they were purposed to be made, with bargains of wearing colours, flowers, and herbs, to breed occasion of ofter meeting of him and her, and bolder talking of this and that, etc. And although I have seen some innocent of all ill and staid in all honesty that have used these things without all harm, without all suspicion of harm, yet these knacks were brought first into England by them that learned them before in Italy in Circe's Court; and how courtly courtesies soever they be counted now, yet, if the meaning and manners of some that do use them were somewhat amended, it were no great hurt neither to themselves nor to others.

Another property of this our English Italians is to be marvellous singular in all their matters: singular in knowledge, ignorant of nothing; so singular in wisdom (in their own opinion) as scarce they count the

best counsellor the prince hath comparable with them; common discoursers of all matters; busy searchers of most secret affairs; open flatterers of great men; privy mislikers of good men; fair speakers, with smiling countenances and much courtesy openly to all men; ready backbiters, sore nippers, and spiteful reporters privily of good men. And being brought up in Italy in some free city, as all cities be there, where a man may freely discourse against what he will, against whom he lust, against any prince, against any government, yea, against God Himself and His whole religion; where he must be either Guelph or Ghibelin, either French or Spanish, and always compelled to be of some party, of some faction, he shall never be compelled to be of any religion; and if he meddle not over-much with Christ's true religion, he shall have free liberty to embrace all religions, and become, if he lust, at once, without any let or punishment, Jewish, Turkish, Papish, and devilish.

A young gentleman thus bred up in this goodly school, to learn the next and ready way to sin, to have a busy head, a factious heart, a talkative tongue, fed with discoursing of factions, led to contemn God and His religion, shall come home into England but very ill taught, either to be an honest man himself, a quiet subject to his prince, or willing to serve God under the obedience of true doctrine, or within the order of honest living.

I know, none will be offended with this my general writing, but only such as find themselves guilty privately therein: who shall have good leave to be offended with me, until they begin to amend themselves. I touch not them that be good; and I say too little of them that be not; and so, though not enough for their deserving, yet sufficiently for this time, and more else when if occasion so require.

And thus far have I wandered from my first purpose of teaching a child, yet not altogether out of the way, because this whole talk hath tended to the only advancement of truth in religion and honesty of living; and hath been wholly within the compass of learning and good manners, the special points belonging in the right bringing up of youth.

But to my matter, as I began plainly and simply with my young scholar, so will I not leave him, God willing, until I have brought him a perfect scholar out of the school, and placed him in the University, to become a fit student for logic and rhetoric: and so after to physic, law, or divinity, as aptness of nature, advice of friends, and God's disposition shall lead him.

THE SECOND BOOK.

AFTER that your scholar, as I said before, shall come indeed, first, to a ready perfectness in translating, then to a ripe and skilful choice in marking out his six points, as—

1. Proprium.
2. Translatum.
3. Synonymum.
4. Contrarium.
5. Diversum.
6. Phrases.

Then take this order with him: read daily unto him some book of Tully, as the third book of Epistles chosen out by Sturmius, *de Amicitia, de Senectute,* or that excellent epistle containing almost the whole first book *ad Q. fra.* some comedy of Terence or Plautus: but in Plautus skilful choice must be used by the master, to train his scholar to a judgment in cutting out perfectly over-old and improper words. Cæsar's Commentaries are to be read with all curiosity, wherein especially without all exception to be made, either by friend or foe, is seen the unspotted propriety of the Latin tongue, even when it was, as the Grecians say, in ἀκμῇ, that is, at the highest pitch of all perfect-

ness; or some Orations of T. Livius, such as be both longest and plainest.

These books I would have him read now a good deal at every lecture; for he shall not now use daily translation, but only construe again, and pass, where ye suspect is any need. Yet let him not omit in these books his former exercise, in marking diligently and writing orderly out his six points. And for translating, use you yourself every second or third day to choose out some Epistle *ad Atticum*, some notable commonplace out of his Orations, or some other part of Tully, by your discretion, which your scholar may not know where to find; and translate it you yourself into plain natural English, and then give it him to translate into Latin again; allowing him good space and time to do it both with diligent heed and good advisement. Here his wit shall be new set on work; his judgment for right choice truly tried; his memory for sure retaining better exercised, than by learning anything without the book; and here, how much he hath profited shall plainly appear. When he bringeth it translated unto you, bring you forth the place of Tully; lay them together; compare the one with the other: commend his good choice and right placing of words; show his faults gently, but blame them not over-sharply; for of such missings, gently admonished of, proceedeth glad and good heed taking; of good heed taking springeth chiefly knowledge,

which after groweth to perfectness, if this order be diligently used by the scholar and gently handled by the master; for here shall all the hard points of grammar both easily and surely be learned up, which scholars in common schools by making of Latins be groping at with care and fear, and yet in many years they scarce can reach unto them. I remember when I was young, in the North they went to the grammar school little children; they came from thence great lubbers, always learning, and little profiting; learning without book everything, understanding within the book little or nothing. Their whole knowledge by learning without the book was tied only to their tongue and lips, and never ascended up to the brain and head, and therefore was soon spit out of the mouth again. They were as men always going, but ever out of the way: and why? For their whole labour, or rather great toil without order, was even vain idleness without profit. Indeed, they took great pains about learning, but employed small labour in learning; when by this way prescribed in this book, being straight, plain, and easy, the scholar is always labouring with pleasure, and ever going right on forward with profit; always labouring, I say, for, or he have construed, passed, twice translated over by good advisement, marked out his six points by skilful judgment, he shall have necessary occasion to read over every lecture a dozen times at the least. Which because he

shall do always in order, he shall do it always with pleasure; and pleasure allureth love, love hath lust to labour, labour always obtaineth his purpose, as most truly both Aristotle in his "Rhetoric" and Œdipus in "Sophocles" do teach, saying, πᾶν γὰρ ἐκπονούμενον ἄλισκε, etc., and this oft reading is the very right following of that good counsel which Pliny doth give to his friend Fuscus, saying, "*Multum non multa.*" But to my purpose again.

When by this diligent and speedy reading over those fore-named good books of Tully, Terence, Cæsar, and Livy, and by this second kind of translating out of your English, time shall breed skill, and use shall bring perfection, then ye may try, if you will, your scholar with the third kind of translation, although the two first ways by mine opinion be not only sufficient of themselves, but also surer, both for the master's teaching and scholar's learning, than this third way is, which is thus: Write you in English some letter, as it were from him to his father, or to some other friend, naturally, according to the disposition of the child, or some tale, or fable, or plain narration, according as Aphthonius beginneth his exercises of learning, and let him translate it into Latin again, abiding in such place where no other scholar may prompt him. But yet use yourself such discretion for choice therein as the matter may be within the compass, both for words and sentences, of

his former learning and reading. And now take heed, lest your scholar do not better in some point than you yourself, except ye have been diligently exercised in these kinds of translating before.

I had once a proof hereof, tried by good experience by a dear friend of mine, when I came first from Cambridge to serve the Queen's Majesty, then Lady Elizabeth, lying at worthy Sir Anthony Denys in Cheston. John Whitney, a young gentleman, was my bedfellow, who, willing by good-nature and provoked by mine advice, began to learn the Latin tongue, after the order declared in this book. We began after Christmas: I read unto him, Tully "*de Amicitia*," which he did every day twice translate, out of Latin into English, and out of English into Latin again. About St. Lawrence-tide after, to prove how he profited, I did choose out Torquatus' talk *de Amicitia* in the latter end of the first book *de finib.*, because that place was the same in matter, like in words and phrases, nigh to the form and fashion of sentences, as he had learned before in *de Amicitia*. I did translate it myself into plain English, and gave it him to turn into Latin, which he did so choicely, so orderly, so without any great miss in the hardest points of grammar, that some in seven years in grammar-schools, yea, and some in the Universities too, cannot do half so well. This worthy young gentleman, to my greatest grief, to the great lamentation of that whole

house, and specially to that most noble lady, now Queen Elizabeth herself, departed within few days out of this world.

And if in any cause a man may without offence of God speak somewhat ungodly, surely, it was some grief unto me to see him hie so hastily to God as he did. A Court full of such young gentlemen were rather a Paradise than a court upon earth. And though I had never poetical head to make any verse in any tongue, yet either love, or sorrow, or both, did wring out of me then certain careful thoughts of my goodwill towards him, which in my mourning for him fell forth more by chance, than either by skill or use, into this kind of misorderly metre:

Mine own John Whitney, now farewell, now death doth part us twain,
No death, but parting for awhile, whom life shall join again.
Therefore, my heart, cease sighs and sobs, cease sorrow's seed to sow,
Whereof no gain, but greater grief and hurtful care may grow.
Yet, when I think upon such gifts of grace as God him lent,
My loss, his gain, I must awhile with joyful tears lament.
Young years to yield such fruit in Court, where seed of vice is sown,
Is sometime read, in some place seen, amongst us seldom known.
His life he led Christ's lore to learn, with will to work the same,
He read to know, and knew to live, and lived to praise his name.
So fast to friend, so foe to few, so good to every wight,

I may well wish, but scarcely hope, again to have in sight.
The greater joy his life to me, his death the greater pain :
His life in Christ so surely set doth glad my heart again :
His life so good, his death better, do mingle mirth with care,
My spirit with joy, my flesh with grief, so dear a friend to spare.
Thus God the good, while they be good, doth take, and leaves us ill,
That we should mend our sinful life, in life to tarry still.
Thus we well left, he better reft, in heaven to take his place,
That by like life, and death at last, we may obtain like grace.
Mine own John Whitney again farewell, awhile thus part in twain,
Whom pain doth part in earth, in heaven great joy shall join again.

In this place, ere I proceed farther, I will now declare by whose authority I am led, and by what reason I am moved to think that this way of double translation out of one tongue into another is either only, or at least chiefly, to be exercised, specially of youth, for the ready and sure obtaining of any tongue.

There be six ways appointed by the best learned men for the learning of tongues and increase of eloquence, as—

1. Translatio linguarum.
2. Paraphrasis.
3. Metaphrasis.
4. Epitome.
5. Imitatio.
6. Declamatio.

All these be used and commended, but in order and for respects, as person, ability, place, and time shall require. The five last be fitter for the master than the scholar; for men, than for children; for the universities, rather than for grammar-schools; yet nevertheless, which is fittest in mine opinion for our school, and which is either wholly to be refused or partly to be used for our purpose, I will by good authority and some reason, I trust, particularly of every one, and largely enough of them all, declare orderly unto you.

Translatio Linguarum.

Translation is easy in the beginning for the scholar, and bringeth also much learning and great judgment to the master. It is most common and most commendable of all other exercises for youth: most common, for all your constructions in grammar-schools be nothing else but translations, but because they be not double translations, as I do require, they bring forth but simple and single commodity; and because, also, they lack the daily use of writing, which is the only thing that breedeth deep root, both in the wit for good understanding, and in the memory for sure keeping of all that is learned; most commendable also, and that by the judgment of all authors which entreat of these exercises. Tully, in the person of L. Crassus, whom he maketh his example of eloquence and true

judgment in learning, doth not only praise specially and choose this way of translation for a young man, but doth also discommend and refuse his own former wont, in exercising *Paraphrasin et Metaphrasin*. *Paraphrasis* is to take some eloquent oration or some notable commonplace in Latin, and express it with other words: *Metaphrasis* is to take some notable place out of a good poet, and turn the same sense into metre, or into other words in prose. Crassus, or rather Tully, doth mislike both these ways, because the author, either orator or poet, had chosen out before the fittest words and aptest composition for that matter, and so he, in seeking other, was driven to use the worse.

Quintilian also preferreth translation before all other exercises, yet having a lust to dissent from Tully (as he doth in very many places if a man read his rhetoric over advisedly, and that rather of an envious mind than of any just cause), doth greatly commend paraphrasis, crossing spitefully Tully's judgment in refusing the same, and so do Ramus and Talæus even at this day in France too. But such singularity in dissenting from the best men's judgments in liking only their own opinions is much misliked of all them that join with learning discretion and wisdom. For he that can neither like Aristotle in logic and philosophy, nor Tully in rhetoric and eloquence, will, from these steps likely enough presume by like pride to mount

higher to the misliking of greater matters, that is either in religion to have a dissentious head, or in the commonwealth to have a factious heart, as I knew one a student in Cambridge, who for a singularity began first to dissent in the schools from Aristotle, and soon after became a perverse Arian against Christ and all true religion, and studied diligently Origen, Basileus, and S. Hierome, only to glean out of their works the pernicious heresies of Celsus, Eunomius, and Helvidius, whereby the church of Christ was so poisoned withal.

But to leave these high points of divinity, surely in this quiet and harmless controversy, for the liking or misliking of paraphrasis for a young scholar, even as far as Tully goeth beyond Quintilian, Ramus, and Talæus in perfect eloquence, even so much by mine opinion come they behind Tully for true judgment in teaching the same.

Plinius Secundus, a wise senator of great experience, excellently learned himself, a liberal patron of learned men, and the purest writer in mine opinion of all his age, I except not Suetonius, his two schoolmasters Quintilian and Tacitus, nor yet his most excellent learned uncle, the elder Plinius, doth express in an epistle to his friend Fuscus many good ways for order in study, but he beginneth with translation, and preferreth it to all the rest, and because his words be notable I will recite them:—

"Utile in primis, ut multi præcipiunt, ex Græco in Latinum et ex Latino vertere in Græcum: Quo genere exercitationis proprietas splendorque verborum, apta structura sententiarum, figurarum copia et explicandi vis colligitur. Præterea imitatione optimorum, facultas similia inveniendi paratur: et quæ legentem fefellissent, transferentem fugere non possunt. Intelligentia ex hoc et judicium acquiritur."

Ye perceive how Pliny teacheth that by this exercise of double translating is learned easily, sensibly, by little and little, not only all the hard congruities of grammar, the choice of aptest words, the right framing of words and sentences, comeliness of figures and forms, fit for every matter and proper for every tongue, but that which is greater also in marking daily and following diligently thus the steps of the best authors, like invention of arguments, like order in disposition, like utterance in elocution, is easily gathered up, whereby your scholar shall be brought not only to like eloquence but also to all true understanding and right judgment, both for writing and speaking. And where Dionysius Halicarnassæus hath written two excellent books, the one *de delectu optimorum verborum*, the which I fear is lost, the other of the right framing of words and sentences, which doth remain yet in Greek, to the great profit of all them that truly study for eloquence; yet this way of double translating shall bring the whole profit of both these books to a diligent scholar, and that easily and pleasantly both for fit choice of words and apt

composition of sentences. And by these authorities and reasons am I moved to think this way of double translating either only or chiefly to be fittest for the speedy and perfect attaining of any tongue. And for speedy attaining I durst venture a good wager if a scholar in whom is aptness, love, diligence, and constancy, would but translate after this sort one little book in Tully, as *de Senectute*, with two epistles, the first *ad Q. fra.* the other *ad Lentulum*, the last save one in the first book, that scholar I say should come to a better knowledge in the Latin tongue than the most part do that spend four or five years in tossing all the rules of grammar in common schools. Indeed, this one book with these two epistles is not sufficient to afford all Latin words (which is not necessary for a young scholar to know), but it is able to furnish him fully for all points of grammar with the right placing, ordering, and use of words in all kind of matter. And why not? for it is read that Dion. Prussæus, that wise philosopher and excellent orator of all his time, did come to the great learning and utterance that was in him by reading and following only two books, *Phædon Platonis* and Demosthenes' most notable oration *περὶ Παραπρεσβείας*. And a better and nearer example herein may be our most noble Queen Elizabeth, who never took yet Greek nor Latin grammar in her hand after the first declining of a noun and a verb, but only by this double translating of Demosthenes and Isocrates

daily without missing, every forenoon, and likewise some part of Tully every afternoon, for the space of a year or two, hath attained to such a perfect understanding in both the tongues, and to such a ready utterance of the Latin, and that with such a judgment as they be few in number in both the universities or elsewhere in England that be in both tongues comparable with her majesty. And to conclude in a short room the commodities of double translation, surely the mind by daily marking—first, the cause and matter; then the words and phrases; next the order and composition after the reason and arguments; then the forms and figures of both the tongues; lastly, the measure and compass of every sentence; must needs by little and little draw unto it the like shape of eloquence as the author doth use, which is read.

And thus much for double translation.

Paraphrasis.

Paraphrasis, the second point, is not only to express at large with more words, but to strive and contend (as Quintilian saith) to translate the best Latin authors into other Latin words as many or thereabouts.

This way of exercise was used first by C. Carbo, and taken up for a while by L. Crassus, but soon after, upon due proof thereof, rejected justly by Crassus and Cicero, yet allowed and made sterling again by M. Quintilian;

nevertheless shortly after by better assay disallowed of his own scholar Plinius Secundus, who termeth it rightly thus, *Audax contentio*. It is a bold comparison indeed to think to say better than that is best. Such turning of the best into worse is much like the turning of good wine out of a fair sweet flagon of silver into a foul musty bottle of leather, or to turn pure gold and silver into foul brass and copper.

Such kind of paraphrasis in turning, chopping and changing the best to worse, either in the mint or schools (though M. Brokke and Quintilian both say the contrary) is much misliked of the best and wisest men. I can better allow another kind of paraphrasis, to turn rude and barbarous into proper and eloquent, which nevertheless is an exercise not fit for a scholar, but for a perfect master, who in plenty hath good choice, in copy hath right judgment and grounded skill, as did appear to be in Sebastian Castalio in translating Kempis's book "De Imitando Christo."

But to follow Quintilianus' advice for paraphrasis were even to take pain to seek the worse and fouler way when the plain and fairer is occupied before your eyes.

The old and best authors that ever wrote were content, if occasion required to speak twice of one matter, not to change the words, but ῥητῶς, that is, word for word to express it again. For they thought that a matter well expressed with fit words and apt composi-

tion was not to be altered, but liking it well themselves, they thought it would also be well allowed of others.

A schoolmaster (such one as I require) knoweth that I say true.

He readeth in Homer, almost in every book, and specially in "Secundo et Nono Iliados," not only some verses but whole leaves not to be altered with new, but to be uttered with the old selfsame words.

He knoweth that Xenophon, writing twice of Agesilaus once in his life, again in the history of the Greeks in one matter keepeth always the selfsame words. He doth the like speaking of Socrates, both in the beginning of his Apology and in the last end of ἀπομνημονευμάτων.

Demosthenes also, in 4 Philippica, doth borrow his own words uttered before in his oration *de Chersoneso*. He doth the like, and that more at large, in his orations against Androtion and Timocrates.

In Latin also Cicero in some places, and Virgil in more, do repeat one matter with the selfsame words. These excellent authors did thus, not for lack of words, but by judgment and skill, whatsoever other more curious and less skilful do think, write, and do.

Paraphrasis nevertheless hath good place in learning, but not by mine opinion for any scholar, but is only to be left to a perfect master, either to expound openly a good author withal, or to compare privately

for his own exercise how some notable place of an excellent author may be uttered with other fit words. But if ye alter also the composition, form, and order, then that is not paraphrasis but imitatio, as I will fully declare in fitter place.

The scholar shall win nothing by paraphrasis, but only, if we may believe Tully, to choose worse words, to place them out of order, to fear overmuch the judgment of the master, to mislike overmuch the hardness of learning, and by use to gather up faults which hardly will be left off again.

The master in teaching it shall rather increase his own labour than his scholar's profit, for when the scholar shall bring unto his master a piece of Tully or Cæsar turned into other Latin, then must the master come to Quintilian's goodly lesson *de Emendatione*, which, as he saith, is the most profitable part of teaching, but not in my opinion, and, namely, for youth, in grammar schools. For the master now taketh double pains—first to mark what is amiss, again to invent what may be said better. And here, perchance, a very good master may easily both deceive himself and lead his scholar into error.

It requireth greater learning and deeper judgment than is to be hoped for at any schoolmaster's hand—that is, to be able always learnedly and perfectly—

> Mutare quod ineptum est:
> Transmutare quod perversum est:

Replere quod deest:
Detrahere quod obest:
Expungere quod inane est.

And that which requireth more skill and deeper consideration—

Premere tumentia:
Extollere humilia:
Astringere luxuriantia:
Componere dissoluta.

The master may here only stumble, and perchance fall in teaching, to the marring and maiming of the scholar in learning, when it is a matter of much reading, of great learning, and tried judgment to make true difference betwixt

Sublime, et tumidum:
Grande, et immodicum:
Decorum, et ineptum:
Perfectum, et nimium.

Some men of our time, counted perfect masters of eloquence, in their own opinion the best, in other men's judgments very good, as Omphalius everywhere, Sadoletus in many places, yea also my friend Osorius—namely, in his "Epistle to the Queen" and in his whole book *de Justitia*—have so overreached themselves in making true difference in the points afore rehearsed, as though they had been brought up in some school in Asia to learn to decline, rather

than in Athens with Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes (from whence Tully fetched his eloquence), to understand what in every matter to be spoken or written on is in very deed Nimium, Satis, Parum—that is for to say, to all considerations, decorum, which, as it is the hardest point in all learning, so is it the fairest and only mark that scholars in all their study must always shoot at, if they purpose another day to be either sound in religion, or wise and discreet in any vocation of the commonwealth.

Again, in the lowest degree, it is no low point of learning and judgment for a schoolmaster to make true difference betwixt

> Humile, et depressum :
> Lene, et remissum ;
> Siccum, et aridum :
> Exile, et macrum :
> Inaffectatum, et neglectum.

In these points some, loving Melancthon well, as he was well worthy, but yet not considering well nor wisely how he of nature and all his life and study by judgment was wholly spent in *genere Disciplinabili*—that is, in teaching, reading, and expounding plainly and aptly school matters, and therefore employed thereunto a fit, sensible, and calm kind of speaking and writing; some, I say, with very well living, but not with very well weighing Melancthon's doings, do frame

themselves a style cold, lean, and weak, though the matter be never so warm and earnest, not much unlike unto one that had a pleasure, in a rough, rainy, winter day, to clothe himself with nothing else but a demi-buckram cassock, plain without pleats and single without lining, which will neither bear of wind nor weather, nor yet keep out the sun in any hot day.

Some suppose, and that by good reason, that Melancthon himself came to this low kind of writing by using over-much paraphrasis in reading; for studying thereby to make everything straight and easy, in smoothing and planing all things to much never leaveth, while the sense itself be left both loose and lazy. And some of those paraphrases of Melancthon be set out in print as *Pro Archia Poeta, et Marco Marcello*; but a scholar by mine opinion is better occupied in playing or sleeping than in spending time not only vainly, but also harmfully in such a kind of exercise.

If a master would have a perfect example to follow how in *Genere sublimi* to avoid *Nimium*, or in *Mediocri* to attain *Satis*, or in *Humili* to eschew *Parum*, let him read diligently for the first "*Secundam Philippicam*," for the mean "*De Natura Deorum*," and for the lowest "*Partitiones*." Or if in another tongue ye look for like example in like perfection for all those three degrees, read "*Pro Ctesiphonte, Ad Leptinem,*

et Contra Olympiodorum," and what wit, art, and diligence is able to afford ye shall plainly see.

For our time the odd man to perform all three perfectly whatsoever he doth, and to know the way to do them skilfully, whensoever he list, is in my poor opinion Joannes Sturmius.

He also counselleth all scholars to beware of paraphrasis, except it be from worse to better, from rude and barbarous to proper and pure Latin, and yet no man to exercise that neither, except such one as is already furnished with plenty of learning and grounded with steadfast judgment before.

All these faults, that thus many wise men do find with the exercise of paraphrasis in turning the best Latin into other as good as they can—that is, ye may be sure, into a great deal worse than it was, both in right choice for propriety and true placing for good order—are committed also commonly in all common schools by the schoolmasters in tossing and troubling young wits (as I said in the beginning) with that butcherly fear in making of Latins.

Therefore in place of Latins for young scholars and of paraphrasis for the masters, I would have double translation specially used. For in double translating a perfect piece of Tully or Cæsar, neither the scholar in learning nor the master in teaching can err. A true touchstone, a sure metwand lieth before both their eyes. For all right congruity, propriety of words,

order in sentences, the right imitation, to invent good matter, to dispose it in good order, to confirm it with good reason, to express any purpose fitly and orderly, is learned thus both easily and perfectly. Yea, to miss sometime in this kind of translation bringeth more profit than to hit right either in paraphrasi or making of Latins. For though ye say well in a Latin-making or in a paraphrasis, yet you being but in doubt and uncertainty, whether ye say well or no, ye gather and lay up in memory no sure fruit of learning thereby. But if ye fault in translation, ye are easily taught how perfectly to amend it, and so well warned how after to eschew all such faults again.

Paraphrasis, therefore, by mine opinion, is not meet for grammar schools, nor yet very fit for young men in the university, until study and time have bred in them perfect learning and steadfast judgment.

There is a kind of paraphrasis which may be used without all hurt to much profit, but it serveth only the Greek and not the Latin, nor no other tongue, as to alter *linguam Ionicam aut Doricam* into *meram Atticam.* A notable example there is left unto us by a notable learned man, Diony. Halicarn., who in his book *περὶ συντάξεως* doth translate the goodly story of Candaules and Gyges in 1 Herodoti out of *Ionica lingua* into *Atticam.* Read the place, and ye shall take both pleasure and profit in conference of it. A

man that is exercised in reading Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, and Demosthenes, in using to turn like places of Herodotus after like sort should shortly come to such a knowledge in understanding, speaking, and writing the Greek tongue, as few or none hath yet attained in England. The like exercise out of *Dorica lingua* may be also used if a man take that little book of Plato, "*Timæus Locrus, De Animo et natura,*" which is written *Dorice,* and turn it into such Greek as Plato useth in other works. The book is but two leaves, and the labour would be but two weeks; but surely the profit, for easy understanding and true writing the Greek tongue, would countervail with the toil that some men taketh in otherwise coldly reading that tongue two years.

And yet for the Latin tongue and for the exercise of paraphrasis in those places of Latin that cannot be bettered, if some young man excellent of wit, courageous in will, lusty of nature, and desirous to contend even with the best Latin, to better it if he can, surely I commend his forwardness, and for his better instruction therein I will set before him as notable an example of paraphrasis as is in record of learning. Cicero himself doth contend in two sundry places to express one matter with diverse words, and that is paraphrasis, saith Quintilian. The matter, I suppose, is taken out of *Panætius;* and therefore being translated out of Greek at divers times is uttered for his

purpose with divers words and forms, which kind of exercise for perfect learned men is very profitable.

"a. Homo enim Rationem habet a natura menti datam, quæ et causas rerum et consecutiones videat, et similitudines transferat, et disjuncta conjugat, et cum præsentibus futura copulet, omnemque complectatur vitæ consequentis statum. b. Eademque ratio fecit hominem hominum appetentem, cumque his natura et sermone et usu congruentem: ut profectus a caritate domesticorum ac suorum, currat longius, et se implicet primum civium, deinde omnium mortalium societate: utque non sibi soli se natum meminerit, sed patriæ, sed suis, ut exigua pars ipsi relinquatur. c. Et quoniam eadem natura cupiditatem ingenuit homini veri inveniendi, quod facillime apparet, cum vacui curis, etiam quid in cælo fiat, scire avemus, etc."—2. *De Finib.* [c. 14. §§ 45, 46.]

"a. Homo autem, qui rationis est particeps, per quam consequentia cernit, et causas rerum videt, earumque progressus et quasi antecessiones non ignorat, similitudines comparat, rebusque præsentibus adjungit atque annectit futuras; facile totius vitæ cursum videt, ad eamque degendam præparat res necessarias. b. Eademque natura vi rationis hominem conciliat homini, et ad orationis et ad vitæ societatem: ingeneratque imprimis præcipuum quendam amorem in eos qui procreati sunt; impellitque ut hominum cœtus et celebrationes inter se et a se obiri velit; ob easque causas studeat parare ea, quæ suppeditent ad cultum et ad victum; nec sibi soli, sed conjugi, liberis, ceterisque quos caros habeat tuerique debeat. c. Quæ cura exsuscitat etiam animos, et majores ad rem gerendam facit: imprimisque hominis est propria veri inquisitio atque investigatio: ita cum sumus necessariis negotiis curisque vacui, tum avemus aliquid videre, audire, addiscere, cognitionemque rerum mirabilium, etc."—1 *Officiorum* [c. 4. §§ 11—13.]

The conference of these two places, containing so excellent a piece of learning as this is, expressed by so worthy a wit as Tully's was, must needs bring great pleasure and profit to him that maketh true count of learning and honesty. But if we had the Greek author, the first pattern of all, and thereby to see how Tully's wit did work at divers times, how out of one excellent image might be framed two others, one in face and favour, but somewhat differing in form, figure, and colour, surely such a piece of workmanship compared with the pattern itself would better please the eyes of honest, wise, and learned minds, than two of the fairest Venuses that ever Apelles made.

And thus much for all kind of paraphrasis, fit or unfit for scholars or others; as I am led to think not only by mine own experience, but chiefly by the authority and judgment of those whom I myself would gladliest follow, and do counsel all mine to do the same: not contending with any other that will otherwise either think or do.

Metaphrasis.

This kind of exercise is all one with paraphrasis, save it is out of verse either into prose or into some other kind of metre; or else out of prose into verse, which was Socrates' exercise and pastime (as Plato reporteth) when he was in prison, to translate Æsop's Fables into verse. Quintilian doth greatly praise also

this exercise; but because Tully doth disallow it in young men, by mine opinion it were not well to use it in grammar schools, even for the selfsame causes that be recited against paraphrasis. And, therefore, for the use or misuse of it the same is to be thought that is spoken of paraphrasis before. This was Sulpicius' exercise: and he gathering up thereby a poetical kind of talk, is justly named of Cicero, *grandis et Tragicus Orator:* which I think is spoken not for his praise, but for other men's warning, to eschew the like fault. Yet nevertheless, if our schoolmaster for his own instruction be desirous to see a perfect example hereof, I will recite one, which I think no man is so bold will say that he can amend it and that is Chryses the Priest's oration to the Greeks in the beginning of Homer's "Ilias," turned excellently into prose by Socrates himself, and that advisedly and purposely for others to follow; and therefore he calleth this exercise in the same place *μίμησις*, that is, *Imitatio*, which is most true: but in this book, for teaching sake, I will name it metaphrasis, retaining the word that all teachers in this case do use.

ὁ γὰρ ἦλθε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν
λυσόμενός τε θύγατρα, φέρων τ' ἀπερείσι' ἄποινα,
στέμμα τ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,
χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ. καὶ ἐλίσσετο πάντας Ἀχαιούς,
Ἀτρείδα δε μάλιστα δύω κοσμήτορε λαῶν·
Ἀτρεῖδαί τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐϋκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί,

ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες,
ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν, εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι.
παῖδα δέ μοι λύσαιτε φίλην, τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθε
ἁζόμενοι Διὸς υἱὸν ἑκήβολον Ἀπόλλωνα.

ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες ἐπευφήμησαν Ἀχαιοὶ,
αἰδεῖσθαί θ' ἱερῆα, καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα·
ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀτρείδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι ἤνδανε θυμῷ,
ἀλλὰ κακῶς ἀφίει, κρατερὸν δ' ἐπὶ μῦθον ἔτελλε·
μή σε, γέρων, κοίλῃσιν ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κιχείω,
ἢ νῦν δηθύνοντ', ἢ ὕστερον αὖθις ἰόντα,
μὴ νύ τοι οὐ χραίσμῃ σκῆπτρον καὶ στέμμα θεοῖο.
τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω, πρίν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν,
ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, ἐν Ἄργεϊ τηλόθι πάτρης,
ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένην, καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν.
ἀλλ' ἴθι, μή μ' ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερος ὥς κε νεῆαι.

ὡς ἔφατ', ἔδδεισεν δ' ὁ γέρων, καὶ ἐπείθετο μύθῳ.
βῆ δ' ἀκέων παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.
πολλὰ δ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κιὼν ἠρᾶθ' ὁ γεραιὸς
Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι, τὸν ἠΰκομος τέκε Λητώ.

κλῦθί μευ, Ἀργυρότοξ', ὃς Χρύσην ἀμφιβέβηκας,
Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην Τενέδοιο τε ἶφι ἀνάσσεις,
Σμινθεῦ, εἴποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα,
ἢ εἰ δή ποτέ τοι κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα
ταύρων, ἠδ' αἰγῶν, τόδε μοι κρήηνον ἐέλδωρ·
τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα σοῖσι βέλεσσιν.

HOMERUS, I. Ἰλιαδ [12—42].

Socrates in 3. *de Rep.* saith thus :—

Φράσω δὲ ἄνευ μέτρου,
οὐ γὰρ δὲ ποιητικός.

ἦλθεν ὁ Χρύσης τῆς τε θυγατρὸς λύτρα φέρων, καὶ ἱκέτης τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν βασιλέων: καὶ εὔχετο, ἐκείνοις μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς δοῦναι ἑλόντας τὴν Τροίαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ σωθῆναι, τήν δε θυγατέρα οἱ αὐτῷ λῦσαι, δεξαμένους ἄποινα, καὶ τὸν θεὸν αἰδεσθέντας. Τοιαῦτα δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐσέβοντο καὶ συνήνουν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων ἠγρίαινεν, ἐντελλόμενος νῦν τε ἀπιέναι, καὶ αὖθις μὴ ἐλθεῖν, μὴ αὐτῷ τό τε σκῆπτρον καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ στέμματα οὐκ ἐπαρκέσοι. πρὶν δὲ λυθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἐν Ἄργει ἔφη γηράσειν μετὰ οὗ. ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐκέλευε, καὶ μὴ ἐρεθίζειν, ἵνα σῶς οἴκαδε ἔλθοι. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἀκούσας ἔδεισέ τε καὶ ἀπῄει σιγῇ. ἀποχωρήσας δ' ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πολλὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι εὔχετο, τάς τε ἐπωνυμίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλῶν, καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκων καὶ ἀπαιτῶν, εἴτι πώποτε ἢ ἐν ναῶν οἰκοδομήσεσιν ἢ ἐν ἱερῶν θυσίαις κεχαρισμένον δωρήσαιτο, ὧν δὴ χάριν κατεύχετο τῖσαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τὰ ἃ δάκρυα τοῖς ἐκείνου βέλεσιν.

To compare Homer and Plato together, two wonders of nature and art for wit and eloquence, is most pleasant and profitable for a man of ripe judgment. Plato's turning of Homer in this place doth not ride aloft in poetical terms, but goeth low and soft on foot, as prose and *pedestris oratio* should do. If Sulpicius had had Plato's consideration in right using this exercise, he had not deserved the name of *Tragicus Orator*, who should rather have studied to express *vim Demosthenis* than *furorem Poetæ*, how good soever he was whom he did follow.

And therefore would I have our schoolmaster weigh

well together Homer and Plato, and mark diligently these four points—what is kept, what is added, what is left out, what is changed, either in choice of words or form of sentences; which four points be the right tools to handle like a workman this kind of work, as our scholar shall better understand when he hath been a good while in the university, to which time and place I chiefly remit this kind of exercise.

And because I ever thought examples to be the best kind of teaching, I will recite a golden sentence out of that poet which is next unto Homer, not only in time but also in worthiness: which hath been a pattern for many worthy wits to follow by this kind of metaphrasis, but I will content myself with four workmen, two in Greek and two in Latin, such as in both the tongues wiser and worthier cannot be looked for. Surely no stone set in gold by most cunning workmen is, indeed, if right count be made, more worthy the looking on than this golden sentence diversely wrought upon by such four excellent masters:—

1. *οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος, ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσει*
   φρασσάμενος, τὰ κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἐς τέλος ἧσιν ἀμείνω.
2. *ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κἀκεῖνος, ὃς εὖ εἰπόντι πίθηται.*
3. *ὃς δέ κε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοέῃ, μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων*
   ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὅ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήϊος ἀνήρ.

HESIODUS. [Ἔργα. 293—297.]

Thus rudely turned into base English:—

1. That man in wisdom passeth all,
   To know the best who hath a head.
2. And meetly wise eke counted shall,
   Who yields himself to wise men's rede.
3. Who hath no wit, nor none will hear,
   Amongst all fools the bell may bear.

1. φήμ' ἔγωγε, πρεσβεύειν πολὺ
φῦναι τὸν ἄνδρα πάντ' ἐπιστήμης πλέω.
2. εἰ δ' οὖν (φιλεῖ γὰρ τοῦτο μὴ ταύτῃ ῥέπειν)
καὶ τῶν λελόντων εὖ, καλὸν τὸ μανθάνειν.

SOPHOCLES in *Antigone.* [720—723.]

Mark the wisdom of Sophocles in leaving out the last sentence, because it was not comely for the son to use it to his father.

Μέμνησθε τοῦ Ἡσιόδου, ὅς φησι, ἄριστον μὲν εἶναι τὸν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ δέοντα ξυνορῶντα. 2. Ἐσθλὸν δὲ κἀκεῖνον, τὸν τοῖς παρ' ἑτέρων ὑποδειχθεῖσιν ἑπόμενον. 3. Τὸν δὲ πρὸς οὐδέτερον ἐπιτήδειον ἀχρεῖον εἶναι πρὸς ἅπαντα.

D. BASILEUS in his *Exhortation to Youth.* [§ 1.]

1. Sapientissimum esse dicunt eum, cui, quod opus sit, ipsi veniat in mentem. 2. Proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene inventis obtemperet. 3. In stultitia contra est: minus enim stultus est is, cui nihil in mentem venit, quam ille, qui quod stultè alteri venit in mentem comprobat.

M. CIC., *pro. A. Cluentio.* [c. 31, § 84.]

Cicero doth not plainly express the last sentence, but doth invent it fitly for his purpose to taunt the folly

and simplicity in his adversary Attius, not weighing wisely the subtle doings of Chrysogonus and Stalenus.

1. Sæpe ego audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat, quid in rem sit. 2. Secundum eum, qui bene monenti obediat. 3. Qui, nec ipse consulere, nec alteri parere scit, eum extremi esse ingenii.

TIT. LIVIUS in *Orat. Minucii.* Lib. 22. [c. 29.]

Now, which of all these four, Sophocles, St. Basil, Cicero, or Livy, hath expressed Hesiodus best, the judgment is as hard as the workmanship of every one is most excellent indeed. Another example out of the Latin tongue also I will recite for the worthiness of the workman thereof, and that is Horace, who hath so turned the beginning of Terence's Eunuchus, as doth work in me a pleasant admiration, as oft soever as I compare those two places together. And though every master, and every good scholar too, do know the places, both in Terence and Horace, yet I will set them here in one place together, that with more pleasure they may be compared together.

Quid igitur faciam? non eam? ne nunc quidem cum accersor ultrò? an potius ita me comparem, non perpeti meretricum contumelias? exclusit; revocat: redeam? non, si me obsecret. [Parmeno a little after.] Here, quæ res in se neque consilium neque modum habet ullum, eam consilio regere non potes. In Amore hæc omnia insunt vitia; injuriæ, suspiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ, bellum, pax rursum. Incerta hæc si tu postules ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas, quam si des operam, ut cum ratione insanias.

TERENTIUS in *Eunucho.* [I. 1.]

Nec nunc, cum me vocet ultro,
Accedam? an potius mediter finire dolores?
Exclusit; revocat: redeam? non, si obsecret. Ecce
Servus non paulo sapientior: o Here, quæ res
Nec modum habet neque consilium, ratione modoque
Tractari non vult. In amore hæc sunt mala, bellum,
Pax rursum: hæc si quis tempestatis prope ritu
Mobilia, et cæca fluitantia sorte, laboret
Reddere certa sibi, nihilo plus explicet, ac si
Insanire paret certa ratione modoque.

HORATIUS, lib. Ser. 2. Saty. 3. [262—271.]

This exercise may bring much profit to ripe heads and staid judgments: because in travelling in it the mind must needs be very attentive and busily occupied in turning and tossing itself many ways and conferring with great pleasure the variety of worthy wits and judgments together. But this harm may soon come thereby, and namely to young scholars, lest in seeking other words and new form of sentences they chance upon the worse: for the which only cause Cicero thinketh this exercise not to be fit for young men.

Epitome.

This is a way of study belonging rather to matter than to words, to memory than to utterance, to those that be learned already, and hath small place at all amongst young scholars in grammar schools. It may profit privately some learned men, but it hath hurt

generally learning itself very much. For by it have we lost whole Trogus, the best part of T. Livius, the goodly dictionary of Pompeius Festus, a great deal of the civil law, and other many notable books, for the which cause I do the more mislike this exercise both in old and young.

Epitome is good privately for himself that doth work it, but ill commonly for all other that use other men's labour therein: a silly poor kind of study, not unlike to the doing of those poor folk which neither till nor sow nor reap themselves, but glean by stealth upon other men's grounds. Such have empty barns for dear years.

Grammar schools have few epitomes to hurt them except Epitheta Textoris, and such beggarly gatherings as Horman, Whittington, and other like vulgars for making of Latins. Yea, I do wish that all rules for young scholars were shorter than they be. For without doubt grammatica itself is sooner and surer learned by examples of good authors than by the naked rules of grammarians. Epitome hurteth more in the universities and study of philosophy; but most of all in divinity itself.

Indeed, books of common-places be very necessary to induce a man into an orderly general knowledge, how to refer orderly all that he readeth *ad certa rerum capita*, and not wander in study. And to that end did P. Lombardus, the master of sentences, and Ph.

Melancthon in our days write two notable books of common-places.

But to dwell in epitomes and books of common-places, and not to bind himself daily by orderly study, to read with all diligence principally the holiest Scripture, and, withal, the best doctors, and so to learn to make true difference betwixt the authority of the one and the counsel of the other, maketh so many seeming and sunburnt ministers as we have, whose learning is gotten in a summer heat and washed away with a Christmas snow again, who nevertheless are less to be blamed than those blind buzzards who, in late years, of wilful maliciousness, would neither learn themselves nor could teach others anything at all.

Paraphrasis hath done less hurt to learning than epitome, for no paraphrasis, though there be many, shall ever take away David's Psalter. Erasmus' paraphrasis being never so good, shall never banish the New Testament. And in another school the paraphrasis of Brocardus or Sambucus shall never take Aristotle's "Rhetoric," nor Horace's *de Arte Poetica* out of learned men's hands.

But as concerning a school epitome, he that would have an example of it, let him read Lucian περὶ κάλλους, which is the very epitome of Isocrates' oration *de laudibus Helenæ*, whereby he may learn at the least this wise lesson, that a man ought to beware to be overbold in altering an excellent man's work.

Nevertheless, some kind of epitome may be used by men of skilful judgment to the great profit also of others. As if a wise man would take Hall's "Chronicle," where much good matter is quite marred with indenture English, and first change strange and inkhorn terms into proper and commonly used words; next specially to weed out that that is superfluous and idle, not only where words be vainly heaped one upon another, but also where many sentences of one meaning be so clouted up together, as though M. Hall had been not writing the story of England, but varying a sentence in Hitching school; surely a wise learned man by this way of epitome, in cutting away words and sentences and diminishing nothing at all of the matter, should leave to men's use a story, half as much as it was in quantity, but twice as good as it was, both for pleasure and also commodity.

Another kind of epitome may be used likewise very well to much profit. Some man either by lustiness of nature, or brought by ill teaching to a wrong judgment, is over full of words, sentences, and matter, and yet all his words be proper, apt, and well chosen: all his sentences be round and trimly framed; his whole matter grounded upon good reason and stuffed with full arguments for his intent and purpose. Yet when his talk shall be heard, or his writing be read of such one as is either of my two dearest friends, M. Haddon at home, or John Sturmius in Germany; that Nimium in

him, which fools and unlearned will most commend, shall either of these two bite his lip, or shake his head at it.

This fulness, as it is not to be misliked in a young man, so in farther age, in greater skill, and weightier affairs, it is to be temperated, or else discretion and judgment shall seem to be wanting in him. But if his style be still over-rank and lusty, as some men being never so old and spent by years will still be full of youthful conditions, as was Sir F. Bryan and evermore would have been, such a rank and full writer must use, if he will do wisely, the exercise of a very good kind of epitome, and do as certain wise men do that be over-fat and fleshy, who, leaving their own full and plentiful table, go to sojourn abroad from home for a while at the temperate diet of some sober man, and so by little and little cut away the grossness that is in them. As for an example: If Osorius would leave off his lustiness in striving against St. Austen, and his over-rank railing against poor Luther and the truth of God's doctrine, and give his whole study, not to write anything of his own for a while, but to translate Demosthenes with so straight, fast, and temperate a style in Latin as he is in Greek, he would become so perfect and pure a writer, I believe, as hath been few or none since Cicero's days; and so by doing himself and all learned much good, do others less harm, and Christ's doctrine less injury than he doth, and withal win unto himself

many worthy friends, who agreeing with him gladly in the love and liking of excellent learning, are sorry to see so worthy a wit, so rare eloquence, wholly spent and consumed in striving with God and good men.

Among the rest, no man doth lament him more than I, not only for the excellent learning that I see in him, but also because there hath passed privately betwixt him and me sure tokens of much goodwill and friendly opinion the one towards the other. And surely the distance betwixt London and Lisbon should not stop any kind of friendly duty that I could either show to him or do to his, if the greatest matter of all did not in certain points separate our minds.

And yet for my part, both towards him and divers others here at home, for like cause of excellent learning, great wisdom, and gentle humanity, which I have seen in them, and felt at their hands myself, where the matter of difference is mere conscience in a quiet mind inwardly, and not contentious malice with spiteful railing openly, I can be content to follow this rule, in misliking some one thing, not to hate for anything else.

But as for all the bloody beasts, as that fat boar of the wood, or those brawling bulls of Basan, or any lurking dormouse, blind not by nature, but by malice, and as may be gathered of their own testimony, given over to blindness for giving over God and his Word; or such as be so lusty runagates as first run from God and

His true doctrine, then from their lords, masters, and all duty, next from themselves and out of their wits, lastly from their prince, country, and all due allegiance, whether they ought rather to be pitied of good men for their misery, or contemned of wise men for their malicious folly, let good and wise men determine.

And to return to epitome again, some will judge much boldness in me thus to judge of Osorius's style; but wise men do know that mean lookers-on may truly say for a well-made picture, "This face had been more comely if that high red in the cheek were somewhat more pure sanguine than it is:" and yet the stander-by cannot amend it himself by any way.

And this is not written to the dispraise, but to the great commendation of Osorius, because Tully himself had the same fulness in him, and therefore went to Rhodes to cut it away, and saith himself, "*Recepi me domum prope mutatus, nam quasi referverat jam oratio.*" Which was brought to pass, I believe, not only by the teaching of Molo Apollonius, but also by a good way of epitome, in binding himself to translate *meros Atticos Oratores*, and so to bring his style from all low grossness to such firm fastness in Latin as is in Demosthenes in Greek. And this to be most true may easily be gathered, not only of L. Crassus' talk, in *de Or.*, but specially of Cicero's own deed in translating Demosthenes and Æschinus' orations περὶ στεφ. to that very end and purpose.

And although a man groundly learned already may take much profit himself in using by epitome to draw other men's works for his own memory sake into shorter room, as Canterus hath done very well the whole "Metamorphosis" of Ovid, and David Cythræus a great deal better the Nine Muses of Herodotus, and Melancthon, in mine opinion, far best of all the whole story of time, not only to his own use, but to other men's profit and his great praise, yet epitome is most necessary of all in a man's own writing, as we learn of that noble poet, Virgil, who, if Donatus say true, in writing that perfect work of the "Georgics," used daily, when he had written forty or fifty verses, not to cease cutting, paring, and polishing of them, till he had brought them to the number of ten or twelve.

And this exercise is not more needfully done in a great work than wisely done in your common daily writing, either of letter or other thing else—that is to say, to peruse diligently and see and spy wisely what is always more than needeth; for twenty to one offend more in writing too much than too little, even as twenty to one fall into sickness rather by overmuch fulness than by any lack or emptiness. And therefore is he always the best English physician that best can give a purgation, that is, by way of epitome to cut all overmuch away. And surely men's bodies be not more full of ill humours than commonly men's minds (if they be young, lusty, proud, like and love themselves well, as

most men do) be full of fancies, opinions, errors, and faults, not only in inward invention, but also in all their utterance, either by pen or talk.

And of all other men, even those that have the inventivest heads for all purposes, and roundest tongues in all matters and places (except they learn and use this good lesson of epitome) commit commonly greater faults than dull, staying, silent men do. For quick inventors and fair ready speakers, being boldened with their present ability to say more, and perchance better too, at the sudden, for that present than any other can do, use less help of diligence and study than they ought to do, and so have in them commonly less learning and weaker judgment for all deep considerations than some duller heads and slower tongues have.

And therefore ready speakers generally be not the best, plainest, and wisest writers, nor yet the deepest judgers in weighty affairs, because they do not tarry to weigh and judge all things as they should; but having their heads over-full of matter, be like pens over-full of ink, which will sooner blot than make any fair letter at all. Time was when I had experience of two ambassadors in one place, the one of a hot head to invent and of a hasty hand to write, the other cold and staid in both; but what difference of their doings was made by wise men is not unknown to some persons. The Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, had a quick head and a ready tongue, and yet was not the best

writer in England. Cicero in Brutus doth wisely note the same in Serg. Galba, and Q. Hortensius, who were both hot, lusty, and plain speakers, but cold, slow, and rough writers; and Tully telleth the cause why, saying, when they spake, their tongue was naturally carried with full tide and wind of their wit: when they wrote their head was solitary, dull, and calm, and so their style was blunt and their writing cold: "*Quod vitium*," saith Cicero, "*peringeniosis hominibus neque satis doctis plerumque accidit.*

And therefore all quick inventors and ready fair speakers must be careful that to their goodness of nature they add also in any wise study, labour, leisure, learning, and judgment, and then they shall indeed pass all other, as I know some do, in whom all those qualities are fully planted, or else if they give overmuch to their wit, and over-little to their labour and learning, they will soonest overreach in talk, and farthest come behind in writing whatsoever they take in hand. The method of epitome is most necessary for such kind of men. And thus much concerning the use or misuse of all kind of epitomes in matters of learning.

Imitatio.

Imitation is a faculty to express lively and perfectly that example which ye go about to follow. And of itself it is large and wide, for all the works of nature in a manner be examples for art to follow.

But to our purpose: all languages, both learned and mother tongues, be gotten, and gotten only, by imitation. For as ye use to hear, so ye learn to speak; if ye hear no other, ye speak not yourself; and whom ye only hear, of them ye only learn.

And therefore if ye would speak as the best and wisest do, ye must be conversant where the best and wisest are; but if you be born or brought up in a rude country, ye shall not choose but speak rudely: the rudest man of all knoweth this to be true.

Yet, nevertheless, the rudeness of common and mother tongues is no bar for wise speaking. For in the rudest country and most barbarous mother language many be found can speak very wisely; but in the Greek and Latin tongue, the two only learned tongues which be kept not in common talk, but in private books, we find always wisdom and eloquence, good matter and good utterance, never or seldom a sounder. For all such authors as be fullest of good matter and right judgment in doctrine, be likewise always most proper in words, most apt in sentence, most plain and pure in uttering the same.

And contrariwise, in those two tongues all writers, either in religion or any sect of philosophy, whosoever be found fond in judgment of matter, be commonly found as rude in uttering their mind. For Stoics, Anabaptists, and friars, with Epicures, Libertines, and monks, being most like in learning and life, are no

fonder and pernicious in their opinions than they be rude and barbarous in their writings. They be not wise, therefore, that say, "What care I for a man's words and utterance, if his matter and reasons be good?" Such men say so, not so much of ignorance as either of some singular pride in themselves, or some special malice of other, or for some private and partial matter, either in religion or other kind of learning. For good and choice meats be no more requisite for healthy bodies than proper and apt words be for good matters, and also plain and sensible utterance for the best and deepest reasons, in which two points standeth perfect eloquence, one of the fairest and rarest gifts that God doth give to man.

Ye know not what hurt ye do to learning that care not for words, but for matter, and so make a divorce betwixt the tongue and the heart. For mark all ages; look upon the whole course of both the Greek and Latin tongue, and ye shall surely find that when apt and good words began to be neglected, and properties of those two tongues to be confounded, then also began ill deeds to spring, strange manners to oppress good orders, new and fond opinions to strive with old and true doctrine, first in philosophy and after in religion; right judgment of all things to be perverted, and so virtue with learning is contemned, and study left off; of ill thoughts cometh perverse judgment, of ill deeds springeth lewd talk. Which four

misorders, as they mar man's life, so destroy they good learning withal.

But behold the goodness of God's providence for learning; all old authors and sects of philosophy which were fondest in opinion and rudest in utterance, as Stoics and Epicures, first contemned of wise men, and after forgotten of all men, be so consumed by times, as they be now not only out of use, but also out of memory of man, which thing, I surely think, will shortly chance to the whole doctrine and all the books of fantastical Anabaptists and friars, and of the beastly Libertines and monks.

Again, behold on the other side how God's wisdom hath wrought, that of Academici and Peripatetici, those that were wisest in judgment of matters and purest in uttering their minds, the first and chiefest that wrote most and best in either tongue, as Plato and Aristotle in Greek, Tully in Latin, be so either wholly or sufficiently left unto us, as I never knew yet scholar that gave himself to like and love and follow chiefly those three authors, but he proved both learned, wise, and also an honest man, if he joined with all the true doctrine of God's Holy Bible, without the which the other three be but fine edge tools in a fool or madman's hand.

But to return to imitation again: there be three kinds of it in matters of learning.

The whole doctrine of comedies and tragedies is a

perfect imitation, or fair lively painted picture of the life of every degree of man. Of this imitation writeth Plato at large in 3. *de Rep.*, but it doth not much belong at this time to our purpose.

The second kind of imitation is to follow for learning of tongues and sciences the best authors. Here riseth amongst proud and envious wits a great controversy whether one or many are to be followed; and if one, who is that one—Seneca or Cicero, Sallust or Cæsar, and so forth in Greek and Latin.

The third kind of imitation belongeth to the second; as when you be determined, whether ye will follow one or more, to know perfectly and which way to follow that one—in what place, by what mean and order, by what tools and instruments ye shall do it, by what skill and judgment ye shall truly discern whether ye follow rightly or no.

This *imitatio* is *dissimilis materiei similis tractatio;* and also *similis materiei dissimilis tractatio,* as Virgil followed Homer; but the argument to the one was Ulysses, to the other Æneas. Tully persecuted Antony with the same weapons of eloquence that Demosthenes used before against Philipp.

Horace followeth Pindar, but either of them his own argument and person: as the one, Hiero, King of Sicily, the other Augustus the Emperor; and yet both for like respects, that is, for their courageous stoutness in war and just government in peace.

One of the best examples for right imitation we lack, and that is Menander, whom our Terence (as the matter required) in like argument, in the same persons, with equal eloquence, foot by foot did follow.

Some pieces remain like broken jewels, whereby men may rightly esteem and justly lament the loss of the whole.

Erasmus, the ornament of learning in our time, doth wish that some man of learning and diligence would take the like pains in Demosthenes and Tully that Macrobius hath done in Homer and Virgil, that is, to write out and join together where the one doth imitate the other. Erasmus's wish is good, but surely it is not good enough, for Macrobius's gatherings for the Æneid out of Homer, and Eobanus Hessus's more diligent gatherings for the "Bucolics" out of Theocritus, as they be not fully taken out of the whole heap, as they should be, but even as though they had not sought for them of purpose, but found them scattered here and there by chance in their way, even so only to point out and nakedly to join together their sentences, with no farther declaring the manner and way how the one doth follow the other, were but a cold help to the increase of learning.

But if a man would take this pain also when he hath laid two places of Homer and Virgil, or of Demosthenes and Tully together, to teach plainly withal after this sort.

1. Tully retaineth thus much of the matter, these sentences, these words.

2. This and that he leaveth out, which he doth wittily to this end and purpose.

3. This he addeth here.

4. This he diminisheth there.

5. This he ordereth thus, with placing that here, not there.

6. This he altereth and changeth, either in property of words, in form of sentence, in substance of the matter, or in one or other convenient circumstance of the author's present purpose. In these few rude English words are wrapt up all the necessary tools and instruments wherewith true imitation is rightly wrought withal in any tongue. Which tools, I openly confess, be not of mine own forging, but partly left unto me by the cunningest master and one of the worthiest gentlemen that ever England bred, Sir John Cheke, partly borrowed by me out of the shop of the dearest friend I have out of England, Io. St. And therefore I am the bolder to borrow of him, and here to leave them to other, and, namely, to my children, which tools, if it please God that another day they may be able to use rightly, as I do wish and daily pray they may do, I shall be more glad than if I were able to leave them a great quantity of land.

This foresaid order and doctrine of imitation would bring forth more learning and breed up truer

judgment than any other exercise that can be used, but not for young beginners, because they shall not be able to consider duly thereof. And truly it may be a shame to good students who, having so fair examples to follow as Plato and Tully, do not use so wise ways in following them for the obtaining of wisdom and learning, as rude ignorant artificers do for gaining a small commodity. For surely the meanest painter useth more wit, better art, greater diligence in his shop in following the picture of any mean man's face than commonly the best students do, even in the university, for the attaining of learning itself.

Some ignorant, unlearned, and idle student, or some busy looker upon this little poor book, that hath neither will to do good himself nor skill to judge right of others, but can lustily contemn by pride and ignorance all painful diligence and right order in study, will perchance say that I am too precise, too curious, in marking thus about the imitation of others; and that the old worthy authors did never busy their heads and wits in following so precisely either the matter what other men wrote, or else the manner how other men wrote. They will say it were a plain slavery and injury too to shackle and tie a good wit and hinder the course of a man's good nature with such bonds of servitude in following other.

Except such men think themselves wiser than Cicero

for teaching of eloquence, they must be content to turn a new leaf.

The best book that ever Tully wrote, by all men's judgment and by his own testimony too, in writing whereof he employed most care, study, learning, and judgment, is his book *de Orat. ad Q. F.* Now let us see what he did for the matter and also for the manner of writing thereof. For the whole book consisteth in these two points only: in good matter, and good handling of the matter. And first, for the matter, it is whole Aristotle's, whatsoever Antony in the second, and Crassus in the third doth teach. Trust not me, but believe Tully himself, who writeth so, first in that goodly long epistle *ad P. Lentulum*, and after in divers places *ad Atticum*. And in the very book itself Tully will not have it hidden, but both Catulus and Crassus do oft and pleasantly lay that stealth to Antonius' charge. Now for the handling of the matter; was Tully so precise and curious rather to follow another man's pattern, than to invent some new shape himself, namely, in that book wherein he purposed to leave to posterity the glory of his wit? yea, forsooth, that he did. And this is not my guessing and gathering, nor only performed by Tully in very deed, but uttered also by Tully in plain words; to teach other men thereby what they should do in taking like matter in hand.

And that which is specially to be marked, Tully doth utter plainly his conceit and purpose therein, by the

mouth of the wisest man in all that company: for saith Scævola himself, "*Cur non imitamur, Crasse, Socratem illum, qui est in Phædro Platonis, etc.?*"

And further to understand that Tully did not *obiter* and by chance, but purposely and mindfully bend himself to a precise and curious imitation of Plato, concerning the shape and form of those books, mark, I pray you, how curious Tully is to utter his purpose and doing therein, writing thus to Atticus [iv. 16]:—

"Quod in iis Oratoriis libris, quos tantopere laudas, personam desideras Scævolæ, non eam temerè dimovi: Sed feci idem, quod in πολιτείᾳ Deus ille noster Plato. Cum in Piræeum Socrates venisset ad Cephalum, locupletem et festivum senem; quoad primus ille sermo haberetur, adest in disputando senex; Deinde, cum ipse quoque commodissimè locutus esset, ad rem divinam dicit se velle discedere, neque postea revertitur. Credo Platonem vix putasse satis consonum fore, si hominem id ætatis in tam longo sermone diutius retinuisset: Multo ego satius hoc mihi cavendum putavi in Scævola, qui et ætate et valetudine erat ea qua esse meministi; et his honoribus, ut vix satis decorum videretur eum plures dies esse in Crassi Tusculano. Et erat primi libri sermo non alienus à Scævolæ studiis: reliqui libri τεχνολογίαν habent, ut scis. Huic joculatoriæ disputationi senem illum, ut noras, interesse sanè nolui."

If Cicero had not opened himself and declared his own thought and doings herein, men that be idle and ignorant and envious of other men's diligence and well-doings would have sworn that Tully had never minded any such thing, but that of a precise curiosity we feign

and forge and father such things of Tully, as he never meant in deed. I write this not for nought: for I have heard some both well learned and otherways very wise, that by their lusty misliking of such diligence have drawn back the forwardness of very good wits. But even as such men themselves do sometimes stumble upon doing well by chance and benefit of good wit, so would I have our scholar always able to do well by order of learning and right skill of judgment.

Concerning imitation many learned men have written with much diversity for the matter, and therefore with great contrariety and some stomach amongst themselves. I have read as many as I could get diligently, and what I think of every one of them, I will freely say my mind. With which freedom I trust good men will bear, because it shall tend to neither spiteful nor harmful controversy.

In Tully, it is well touched, shortly taught, not fully declared by Ant. in 2 *de Orat.:* and afterward in *Orat. ad Brutum*, for the liking and misliking of Isocrates; and the contrary judgment of Tully against Calvus, Brutus, and Calidius, *de genere dicendi Attico et Asiatico.*

Dionis. Halic. περὶ μιμήσεως I fear is lost: which author next Aristotle, Plato, and Tully, of all other that write of eloquence, by the judgment of them that be best learned, deserveth the next praise and place.

Quintilian writeth of it shortly and coldly for the

matter, yet hotly and spitefully enough against the imitation of Tully.

Erasmus, being more occupied in spying other men's faults than declaring his own advice, is mistaken of many, to the great hurt of study, for his authority sake. For he writeth rightly, rightly understanded: he and Longolius only differing in this, that the one seemeth to give overmuch, the other over-little to him, whom they both best loved and chiefly allowed of all other.

Budæus in his commentaries roughly and obscurely, after his kind of writing: and for the matter, carried somewhat out of the way in overmuch misliking the imitation of Tully.

Phil. Melancthon, learnedly and truly.

Camerarius largely with a learned judgment, but somewhat confusedly and with over-rough a style.

Sambucus largely, with a right judgment, but somewhat a crooked style.

Other have written also, as Cortesius to Politian, and that very well: *Bembus ad Picum* a great deal better, but *Joan. Sturmius de Nobilitate literata et de Amissa dicendi ratione* far best of all, in mine opinion, that ever took this matter in hand. For all the rest declare chiefly this point, whether one, or many, or all, are to be followed: but Sturmius only hath most learnedly declared, who is to be followed, what is to be followed, and the best point of all, by what way and

order true imitation is rightly to be exercised. And although Sturmius herein doth far pass all other, yet hath he not so fully and perfectly done it, as I do wish he had, and as I know he could. For though he hath done it perfectly for precept, yet hath he not done it perfectly enough for example: which he did, neither for lack of skill, nor by negligence, but of purpose, contented with one or two examples, because he was minded in those two books to write of it both shortly, and also had to touch other matters.

Barthol. Riccius Ferrariensis also hath written learnedly, diligently, and very largely of this matter, even as he did before very well *de Apparatu linguæ Lat.* He writeth the better in mine opinion, because his whole doctrine, judgment, and order, seemeth to be borrowed out of Jo. Stur. books. He addeth also examples, the best kind of teaching: wherein he doth well, but not well enough: indeed, he committeth no fault, but yet deserveth small praise. He is content with the mean, and followeth not the best; as a man, that would feed upon acorns when he may eat as good cheap the finest wheat bread. He teacheth, for example, where and how two or three late Italian poets do follow Virgil; and how Virgil himself in the story of Dido doth wholly imitate Catullus in the like manner of Ariadna: wherein I like better his diligence and order of teaching, than his judgment in choice of examples for imitation. But if he had done thus: if he had

declared where and how, how oft and how many ways Virgil doth follow Homer, as for example the coming of Ulysses to Alcynous and Calypso, with the coming of Æneas to Carthage and Dido ; likewise the games, running, wrestling, and shooting, that Achilles maketh in Homer, with the selfsame games that Æneas maketh in Virgil: the harness of Achilles, with the harness of Æneas, and the manner of making of them both by Vulcan; the notable combat betwixt Achilles and Hector, with as notable a combat betwixt Æneas and Turnus. The going down to hell of Ulysses in Homer, with the going down to hell of Æneas in Virgil: and other places infinite more, as similitudes, narrations, messages, descriptions of persons, places, battles, tempests, shipwrecks, and common-places for divers purposes, which be as precisely taken out of Homer as ever did painter in London follow the picture of any fair personage. And when these places had been gathered together by this way of diligence, then to have conferred them together by this order of teaching, as diligently to mark what is kept and used in either author, in words, in sentences, in matter, what is added, what is left out, what ordered otherwise, either *præponendo*, *interponendo*, or *postponendo*. And what is altered for any respect, in word, phrase, sentence, figure, reason, argument, or by any way of circumstance: if Riccius had done this, he had not only been well liked for his diligence in teaching, but

also justly commended for his right judgment in right choice of examples for the best imitation.

Riccius also for imitation of prose declareth where and how Longolius doth follow Tully, but as for Longolius, I would not have him the pattern of our imitation. Indeed, in Longolius' shop be proper and fair-showing colours, but as for shape, figure, and natural comeliness, by the judgment of best judging artificers, he is rather allowed as one to be borne withal, than specially commended as one chiefly to be followed.

If Riccius had taken for his examples where Tully himself followeth either Plato or Demosthenes, he had shot then at the right mark. But to excuse Riccius somewhat, though I cannot fully defend him, it may be said his purpose was to teach only the Latin tongue, when this way that I do wish; to join Virgil with Homer, to read Tully with Demosthenes and Plato, requireth a cunning and perfect master in both the tongues. It is my wish indeed, and that by good reason. For whosoever will write well of any matter must labour to express that that is perfect, and not to stay and content himself with the mean; yea, I say further, though it be not impossible, yet it is very rare and marvellous hard to prove excellent in the Latin tongue for him that is not also well seen in the Greek tongue. Tully himself, most excellent of nature, most diligent in labour, brought up from his cradle in that place and in that time, where and when the Latin tongue

most flourished naturally in every man's mouth, yet was not his own tongue able itself to make him so cunning in his own tongue, as he was indeed; but the knowledge and imitation of the Greek tongue withal.

This he confesseth himself, this he uttereth in many places, as those can tell best that use to read him most.

Therefore, thou that shootest at perfection in the Latin tongue, think not thyself wiser than Tully was in choice of the way that leadeth rightly to the same; think not thy wit better than Tully's was, as though that may serve thee that was not sufficient for him. For even as a hawk flieth not high with one wing, even so a man reacheth not to excellency with one tongue.

I have been a looker-on in the cockpit of learning these many years, and one cock only have I known, which with one wing even at this day doth pass all other, in mine opinion, that ever I saw in any pit in England, though they had two wings. Yet, nevertheless, to fly well with one wing, to run fast with one leg, be rather rare masteries much to be marvelled at, than sure examples safely to be followed. A bishop that now liveth, a good man, whose judgment in religion I better like than his opinion in perfectness in other learning, said once unto me, "We have no need now of the Greek tongue, when all things be translated into Latin." But the good man understood not,

that even the best translation is for mere necessity but an evil imped wing to fly withal, or a heavy stump leg of wood to go withal; such, the higher they fly the sooner they falter and fail; the faster they run the ofter they stumble, and sorer they fall. Such as will needs so fly may fly at a pie and catch a daw, and such runners as commonly they shove and shoulder to stand foremost, yet in the end they come behind others, and deserve but the hopshackles if the masters of the game be right judgers.

Therefore, in perusing thus so many diverse books for imitation, it came into my head that a very profitable book might be made *de imitatione*, after another sort than ever yet was attempted of that matter, containing a certain few fit precepts, unto the which should be gathered and applied plenty of examples out of the choicest authors of both the tongues. This work would stand rather in good diligence for the gathering, and right judgment for the apt applying of those examples, than any great learning or utterance at all.

The doing thereof would be more pleasant than painful, and would bring also much profit to all that should read it, and great praise to him would take it in hand, with just desert of thanks.

Erasmus, giving himself to read over all authors, Greek and Latin, seemeth to have prescribed to himself this order of reading: that is, to note out by the

way three special points, all adages, all similitudes, and all witty sayings of most notable personages. And so by one labour he left to posterity three notable books, and namely two, his "Chiliades," "Apophthegmata" and "Similia." Likewise if a good student would bend himself to read diligently over Tully, and with him also at the same time as diligently Plato and Xenophon with his books of "Philosophy," Isocrates and Demosthenes with his "Orations," and Aristotle with his "Rhetorics," which five of all other be those whom Tully best loved and specially followed, and would mark diligently in Tully, where he doth *exprimere* or *effingere* (which be the very proper words of imitation) either *copiam Platonis* or *venustatem Xenophontis, suavitatem Isocratis* or *vim Demosthenis, propriam et puram subtilitatem Aristotelis,* and not only write out the places diligently and lay them together orderly, but also to confer them with skilful judgment by those few rules which I have expressed now twice before. If that diligence were taken, if that order were used, what perfect knowledge of both the tongues, what ready and pithy utterance in all matters, what right and deep judgment in all kind of learning would follow, is scarce credible to be believed.

These books be not many, nor long, nor rude in speech, nor mean in matter, but next the majesty of God's Holy Word most worthy for a man, the lover of learning and honesty, to spend his life in. Yea, I have

heard worthy M. Cheke many times say: "I would have a good student pass and journey through all authors, both Greek and Latin, but he that will dwell in these few books only, first, in God's Holy Bible, and then join with it Tully in Latin, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Isocrates and Demosthenes in Greek, must needs prove an excellent man."

Some men already in our days have put their helping hands to this work of imitation. As Perionius, Henr. Stephanus in "Dictionario Ciceroniano," and P. Victorius, most praiseworthy of all, in that his learned work, containing twenty-five books *de varia lectione*, in which books be joined diligently together the best authors of both the tongues, where one doth seem to imitate another.

But all these, with Macrobius Hessus and other, be no more but common porters, carriers, and bringers of matter and stuff together. They order nothing, they lay before you what is done, they do not teach you how it is done, they busy not themselves with form of building, they do not declare this stuff is thus framed by Demosthenes, and thus and thus by Tully, and so likewise in Xenophon, Plato, and Isocrates and Aristotle. For joining Virgil with Homer I have sufficiently declared before.

The like diligence I would wish to be taken in Pindar and Horace, an equal match for all respects.

In tragedies (the goodliest argument of all, and for

the use either of a learned preacher or a civil gentleman more profitable than Homer, Pindar, Virgil, and Horace: yea, comparable, in mine opinion, with the doctrine of Aristotle, Plato, and Xenophon) the Grecians, Sophocles and Euripides far overmatch our Seneca in Latin, namely in *οἰκονομίᾳ et Decoro*, although Seneca's elocution and verse be very commendable for his time. And for the matters of Hercules, Thebes, Hippolytus, and Troy, his imitation is to be gathered into the same book, and to be tried by the same touchstone, as is spoken before.

In histories, and namely in Livy, the like diligence of imitation could bring excellent learning, and breed staid judgment in taking any like matter in hand.

Only Livy were a sufficient task for one man's study to compare him first with his fellow for all respects, Dion. Halicarnassæus, who both lived in one time, took both one history in hand to write, deserved both like praise of learning and eloquence, then with Polybius, that wise writer whom Livy professeth to follow, and if he would deny it, yet it is plain that the best part of the third "Decade" in Livy is in a manner translated out of the third and rest of Polybius; lastly, with Thucydides, to whose imitation Livy is curiously bent, as may well appear by that one oration of those of Campania, asking aid of the Romans against the Samnites, which is wholly taken, sentence, reason, argument, and order, out of the oration of Corcyra

asking like aid of the Athenienses against them of Corinth. If some diligent student would take pains to compare them together, he should easily perceive that I do say true. A book thus wholly filled with examples of imitation, first out of Tully compared with Plato, Xenophon, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Aristotle, then out of Virgil and Horace with Homer and Pindar, next out of Seneca with Sophocles and Euripides, lastly out of Livy with Thucydides, Polybius, and Halicarnassæus, gathered with good diligence and compared with right order, as I have expressed before, were another manner of work for all kind of learning, and namely for eloquence, than be those cold gatherings of Macrobius, Hessus, Perionius, Stephanus, and Victorius, which may be used, as I said before, in this case, as porters and carriers, deserving like praise as such men do wages, but only Sturmius is he out of whom the true survey and whole workmanship is specially to be learned.

I trust this my writing shall give some good student occasion to take some piece in hand of this work of imitation. And as I had rather have any do it than myself, yet surely myself rather than none at all. And by God's grace, if God do lend me life with health, free leisure and liberty, with good liking and a merry heart, I will turn the best part of my study and time to toil in one or other piece of this work of imitation.

This diligence to gather examples, to give light and

understanding to good precepts, is no new invention, but specially used of the best authors and oldest writers. For Aristotle himself (as Diog. Laertius declareth) when he had written that goodly book of the "Topics," did gather out of stories and orators so many examples as filled fifteen books, only to express the rules of his "Topics." These were the Commentaries that Aristotle thought fit for his "Topics;" and therefore, to speak as I think, I never saw yet any commentary upon Aristotle's Logic, either in Greek or Latin, that ever I liked, because they be rather spent in declaring schoolpoint rules, than in gathering fit examples for use and utterance, either by pen or talk. For precepts in all authors, and namely in Aristotle, without applying unto them the imitation of examples, be hard, dry, and cold, and therefore barren, unfruitful, and unpleasant. But Aristotle, namely, in his "Topics" and "Elenches," should be not only fruitful but also pleasant too, if examples out of Plato and other good authors were diligently gathered and aptly applied unto his most perfect precepts there. And it is notable that my friend Sturmius writeth herein, that there is no precept in Aristotle's "Topics," whereof plenty of examples be not manifest in Plato's works. And I here say that an excellent learned man, Tomitanus, in Italy, hath expressed every fallacion in Aristotle with divers examples out of Plato. Would to God I might once see some worthy student of Aristotle and

Plato in Cambridge that would join in one book the precepts of the one with the examples of the other. For such a labour were one special piece of that work of imitation which I do wish were gathered together in one volume.

Cambridge, at my first coming thither, but not at my going away, committed this fault in reading the precepts of Aristotle without the examples of other authors; but herein in my time these men of worthy memory, M. Redman, M. Cheke, M. Smith, M. Haddon, M. Watson, put so to their helping hands, as that university and all students there, as long as learning shall last, shall be bound unto them if that trade in study be truly followed, which those men left behind them there.

By this small mention of Cambridge I am carried into three imaginations; first, into a sweet remembrance of my time spent there; then into some careful thoughts for the grievous alteration that followed soon after; lastly, into much joy to hear tell of the good recovery and earnest forwardness in all good learning there again.

To utter these my thoughts somewhat more largely were somewhat beside my matter, yet not very far out of the way, because it shall wholly tend to the good encouragement and right consideration of learning, which is my full purpose in writing this little book, whereby also shall well appear this sentence to be most true, that

only good men by their government and example make happy times in every degree and state.

Doctor Nico. Medcalfe, that honourable father, was Master of St. John's College when I came thither; a man meanly learned himself, but not meanly affectioned to set forward learning in others. He found that college spending scarce two hundred marks by year; he left it spending a thousand marks and more. Which he procured, not with his money but by his wisdom; not chargeably bought by him, but liberally given by others by his mean for the zeal and honour they bare to learning. And that which is worthy of memory, all these givers were almost Northernmen; who being liberally rewarded in the service of their prince, bestowed it as liberally for the good of their country. Some men thought, therefore, that Dr. Medcalfe was partial to Northernmen, but sure I am of this, that Northernmen were partial in doing more good and giving more lands to the furtherance of learning, than any other countrymen in those days did; which deed should have been rather an example of goodness for other to follow, than matter of malice for any to envy, as some there were that did.

Truly Dr. Medcalfe was partial to none but indifferent to all, a master for the whole, a father to every one in that college. There was none so poor if he had either will to goodness or wit to learning, that could lack being there, or should depart from thence

for any need. I am witness myself that money many times was brought into young men's studies by strangers whom they knew not. In which doing this worthy Nicolaus followed the steps of good old St. Nicolaus, that learned bishop. He was a Papist indeed, but would to God amongst all us Protestants I might once see but one that would win like praise in doing like good for the advancement of learning and virtue. And yet though he were a Papist, if any young man given to New Learning (as they termed it) went beyond his fellows in wit, labour, and towardness, even the same neither lacked open praise to encourage him, nor private exhibition to maintain him, as worthy Sir J. Cheke, if he were alive, would bear good witness, and so can many more. I myself, one of the meanest of a great number in that college, because there appeared in me some small show of towardness and diligence, lacked not his favour to further me in learning.

And being a boy, new Bachelor of Arts, I chanced amongst my companions to speak against the Pope, which matter was then in every man's mouth, because D. Haines and D. Skippe were come from the court to debate the same matter by preaching and disputation in the university. This happened the same time when I stood to be fellow there; my talk came to Dr. Medcalfe's ear; I was called before him and the seniors, and after grievous rebuke and some punishment, open

warning was given to all the fellows, none to be so hardy to give me his voice at that election. And yet for all those open threats, the good father himself privily procured that I should even then be chosen fellow. But the election being done, he made countenance of great discontentation thereat. This good man's goodness and fatherly discretion used towards me that one day, shall never out of my remembrance all the days of my life. And for the same cause have I put it here in this small record of learning. For next God's providence surely that day was by that good father's means *dies natalis* to me, for the whole foundation of the poor learning I have, and of all the furtherance that hitherto elsewhere I have obtained.

This his goodness stood not still in one or two, but flowed abundantly over all that college, and brake out also to nourish good wits in every part of that university, whereby at his departing thence he left such a company of fellows and scholars in St. John's College as can scarce be found now in some whole university, which either for divinity on the one side or other, or for civil service to their prince and country, have been, and are yet to this day, notable ornaments to this whole realm; yea, St. John's did then so flourish as Trinity College, that princely house now at the first erection, was but *Colonia deducta* out of St. John's, not only for their master, fellows, and scholars, but also, which is more for their whole

both order of learning and discipline of manners, and yet to this day it never took master but such as was bred up before in St. John's, doing the duty of a good Colonia to her metropolis, as the ancient cities in Greece, and some yet in Italy at this day, are accustomed to do.

St. John's stood in this state until those heavy times and that grievous change that chanced An. 1553, when more perfect scholars were dispersed from thence in one month than many years can rear up again. For, when Aper de Sylva had passed the seas and fastened his foot again in England, not only the two fair groves of learning in England were either cut up by the root, or trodden down to the ground and wholly went to wrack, but the young spring there, and everywhere else, was pitifully nipped and overtrodden by very beasts, and also the fairest standers of all were rooted up and cast into the fire, to the great weakening even at this day of Christ's Church in England, both for religion and learning.

And what good could chance then to the universities, when some of the greatest, though not of the wisest nor best learned, nor best men neither of that side, did labour to persuade, that ignorance was better than knowledge, which they meant not for the laity only, but also for the greatest rabble of their spirituality, what other pretence openly soever they made: and therefore did some of them at Cambridge (whom I

will not name openly), cause hedge-priests fetched out of the country to be made fellows in the university: saying in their talk privily, and declaring by their deeds openly, that he was fellow good enough for their time, if he could wear a gown and a tippet comely, and have his crown shorn fair and roundly, and could turn his Portesse and Pie readily: which I speak not to reprove any order either of apparel or other duty, that may be well and indifferently used, but to note the misery of that time, when the benefits provided for learning were so foully misused. And what was the fruit of this seed? Verily, judgment in doctrine was wholly altered: order in discipline very sore changed: the love of good learning began suddenly to wax cold: the knowledge of the tongues (in spite of some that therein had flourished) was manifestly contemned: and so, the way of right study purposely perverted, the choice of good authors of malice confounded. Old sophistry (I say not well —not old, but that new rotten sophistry) began to beard and shoulder logic in her own tongue: yea, I know, that heads were cast together and counsel devised, that Duns, with all the rabble of barbarous questionists, should have dispossessed of their place and rooms, Aristotle, Plato, Tully, and Demosthenes, whom good M. Redman, and those two worthy stars of that university, M. Cheke and M. Smith, with their scholars, had brought to flourish as notable in Cambridge, as

ever they did in Greece and in Italy: and for the doctrine of those four, the four pillars of learning, Cambridge then giving no place to no university, neither in France, Spain, Germany, nor Italy. Also in outward behaviour, then began simplicity in apparel to be laid aside: courtly gallantness to be taken up: frugality in diet was privately misliked, Towne going to good cheer openly used, honest pastimes joined with labour left off in the fields, unthrifty and idle games haunted corners, and occupied the nights: contention in youth nowhere for learning: factions in the elders everywhere for trifles. All which miseries at length, by God's providence, had their end 16th November, 1558. Since which time the young spring hath shot up so fair, as now there be in Cambridge again many goodly plants (as did well appear at the Queen's Majesty's late being there), which are like to grow to mighty great timber, to the honour of learning and great good of their country, if they may stand their time, as the best plants there were wont to do: and if some old dotterel trees with standing over-nigh them and dropping upon them do not either hinder or crook their growing, wherein my fear is the less, seeing so worthy a Justice of an Oyre hath the present oversight of that whole chase, who was himself sometime, in the fairest spring that ever was there of learning, one of the forwardest young plants in all that worthy College of St. John's: who now by grace is grown to

such greatness, as in the temperate and quiet shade of his wisdom, next the providence of God, and goodness of one, in these our days *Religio* for sincerity, *literæ* for order and advancement, *Respub.* for happy and quiet government, have to great rejoicing of all good men specially reposed themselves.

Now to return to that question, whether one, a few, many, or all, are to be followed, my answer shall be short. All, for him that is desirous to know all: yea, the worst of all, as questionists, and all the barbarous nation of schoolmen, help for one or other consideration, but in every separate kind of learning and study by itself ye must follow choicely a few, and chiefly some one, and that namely in our school of eloquence, either for pen or talk. And as in portraiture and painting, wise men choose not that workman that can only make a fair hand or a well-fashioned leg, but such one as can furnish up fully all the features of the whole body of a man, woman, and child: and withal is able to, by good skill, to give to every one of these three, in their proper kind, the right form, the true figure, the natural colour, that is fit and due to the dignity of a man, to the beauty of a woman, to the sweetness of a young babe: even likewise do we seek such one in our school to follow, who is able always, in all matters, to teach plainly, to delight pleasantly, and to carry away by force of wise talk all that shall hear or read him; and is so excellent indeed, as wit is

able, or wish can hope, to attain unto: and this not only to serve in the Latin or Greek tongue, but also in our own English language. But yet, because the providence of God hath left unto us in no other tongue, save only in the Greek and Latin tongue, the true precepts and perfect examples of eloquence, therefore must we seek in the authors only of those two tongues the true pattern of eloquence, if in any other mother tongue we look to attain either to perfect utterance of it ourselves, or skilful judgment of it in others.

And now to know what author doth meddle only with some one piece and member of eloquence, and who doth perfectly make up the whole body, I will declare, as I can call to remembrance, the goodly talk that I have had oftentimes of the true difference of authors with that gentleman of worthy memory, my dearest friend and teacher of all the little poor learning I have, Sir John Cheke.

The true difference of authors is best known, *per diversa genera dicendi*, that every one used. And therefore here I will divide *genus dicendi*, not into these three, *Tenue, mediocre, et grande*, but as the matter of every author requireth, as

in Genus { Poeticum. Historicum. Philosophicum. Oratorium.

These differ one from another in choice of words,

in framing of sentences, in handling of arguments, and use of right form, figure, and number, proper and fit for every matter, and every one of these is diverse also in itself, as the first

Poeticum, in { Comicum. Tragicum. Epicum. Melicum.

And here whosoever hath been diligent to read advisedly over Terence, Seneca, Virgil, Horace, or else Aristophanes, Sophocles, Homer, and Pindar, and shall diligently mark the difference they use in propriety of words, in form of sentence, in handling of their matter, he shall easily perceive what is fit and decorum in every one, to the true use of perfect imitation. When M. Watson, in St. John's College at Cambridge, wrote his excellent tragedy of *Absalon*, M. Cheke, he and I, for that part of true imitation, had many pleasant talks together, in comparing the precepts of Aristotle and Horace *de Arte Poetica*, with the examples of Euripides, Sophocles, and Seneca. Few men in writing of tragedies in our days have shot at this mark. Some in England, more in France, Germany, and Italy, also have written tragedies in our time: of the which not one I am sure is able to abide the true touch of Aristotle's precepts and Euripides' examples, save only two, that ever I saw, M. Watson's *Absalon*, and Georgius Buckananus' *Jephthe*. One man in

Cambridge, well liked of many, but best liked of himself, was many times bold and busy to bring matters upon stages, which he called tragedies. In one whereby he looked to win his spurs, and whereat many ignorant fellows fast clapped their hands, he began the Protasis with Trochæis Octonariis; which kind of verse, as it is but seldom and rare in tragedies, so is it never used save only in Epitasi, when the tragedy is highest and hottest, and full of greatest troubles. I remember full well what M. Watson merrily said unto me of his blindness and boldness in that behalf, although otherwise there passed much friendship between them. M. Watson had another manner care of perfection, with a fear and reverence of the judgment of the best learned, who to this day would never suffer yet his *Absalon* to go abroad, and that only because *in locis paribus* Anapestus is twice or thrice used instead of Iambus. A small fault, and such a one as perchance would never be marked, no, neither in Italy nor France. This I write, not so much to note the first or praise the last, as to leave in memory of writing for good example to posterity what perfection in any time was most diligently sought for in like manner in all kind of learning in that most worthy College of St. John's in Cambridge.

Historicum in { Diaria. Annales. Commentarios. Justam Historiam.

For what propriety in words, simplicity in sentences, plainness and light, is comely for these kinds, Cæsar and Livy for the two last are perfect examples of imitation. And for the two first the old patterns be lost; and as for some that be present and of late time, they be fitter to be read once for some pleasure than oft to be perused for any good imitation of them.

Philosophicum in
- Sermonem, as officia Cic. et Eth. Arist.
- Contentionem, as, the Dialogues of Plato, Xenophon, and Cicero.

Of which kind of learning and right imitation thereof Carolus Sigonius hath written of late both learnedly and eloquently; but best of all my friend Joan. Sturmius in his "Commentaries upon Gorgias Platonis," which book I have in writing, and is not yet set out in print.

Oratorium in
- Humile.
- Mediocre.
- Sublime.

Examples of these three in the Greek tongue be plentiful and perfect, as Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes; and all three in only Demosthenes, in divers orations, as *contra Olimpiodorum, in Leptinem,* and *pro Ctesiphonte.* And true it is that Hermogenes writeth of Demosthenes, that all forms of eloquence be perfect

in him. In Cicero's orations, *Medium et sublime* be most excellently handled, but Humile in his orations is seldom seen; yet nevertheless in other books, as in some part of his offices, and especially in Partitionibus, he is comparable *in hoc humili et disciplinabili genere*, even with the best that ever wrote in Greek. But of Cicero more fully in fitter place. And thus the true difference of styles in every author and every kind of learning may easily be known by this division

in Genus { Poeticum. Historicum. Philosophicum. Oratorium.

Which I thought in this place to touch only, not to prosecute at large, because, God willing, in the Latin tongue I will fully handle it, in my book *De Imitatione*.

Now, to touch more particularly which of those authors that be now most commonly in men's hands will soon afford you some piece of eloquence, and what manner a piece of eloquence, and what is to be liked and followed, and what to be misliked and eschewed in them; and how some again will furnish you fully withal, rightly and wisely considered, somewhat I will write as I have heard Sir John Cheke many times say.

The Latin tongue, concerning any part of pureness of it from the spring to the decay of the same, did not endure much longer than is the life of a well-aged man,

scarce one hundred years from the time of the last Scipio Africanus and Lælius to the Empire of Augustus. And it is notable that Velleius Paterculus writeth of Tully how that the perfection of eloquence did so remain only in him and in his time, as before him were few which might much delight a man, or after him any worthy admiration but such as Tully might have seen, and such as might have seen Tully. And good cause why: for no perfection is durable. Increase hath a time, and decay likewise, but of perfect ripeness remaineth but a moment: as is plainly seen in fruits, plums, and cherries, but more sensibly in flowers, as roses and such like, and yet as truly in all greater matters. For what naturally can go no higher must naturally yield and stoop again.

Of this short time of any pureness of the Latin tongue for the first forty years of it and all the time before, we have no piece of learning left save Plautus and Terence, with a little rude unperfect pamphlet of the elder Cato. And as for Plautus, except the schoolmaster be able to make wise and wary choice, first in propriety of words, then in framing of phrases and sentences, and chiefly in choice of honesty of matter, your scholar were better to play than learn all that is in him. But surely, if judgment for the tongue and direction for the manners be wisely joined with the diligent reading of Plautus, then truly Plautus, for that pureness of the Latin tongue in Rome, when

Rome did most flourish in well-doing, and so thereby in well-speaking also, is such a plentiful storehouse for common eloquence in mean matters and all private men's affairs, as the Latin tongue for that respect hath not the like again. When I remember the worthy time of Rome, wherein Plautus did live, I must needs honour the talk of that time which we see Plautus doth use.

Terence is also a storehouse of the same tongue for another time following soon after, and although he be not so full and plentiful as Plautus is for multitude of matters and diversity of words, yet his words be chosen so purely, placed so orderly, and all his stuff so neatly packed up and wittily compassed in every place, as by all wise men's judgment he is counted the cunninger workman, and to have his shop for the room that is in it more finely appointed and trimlier ordered than Plautus' is.

Three things chiefly, both in Plautus and Terence, are to be specially considered: the matter, the utterance, the words, the metre. The matter in both is altogether within the compass of the meanest men's manners, and doth not stretch to anything of any great weight at all, but standeth chiefly in uttering the thoughts and conditions of hard fathers, foolish mothers, unthrifty young men, crafty servants, subtle bores, and wily harlots, and so is much spent in finding out fine fetches and packing up pelting matters, such as in

London commonly come to the hearing of the masters of Bridewell. Here is base stuff for that scholar that should become hereafter either a good minister in religion or a civil gentleman in service of his prince and country; except the preacher do know such matters to confute them, when ignorance surely in all such things were better for a civil gentleman than knowledge. And thus for matter, both Plautus and Terence be like mean painters that work by halves, and be cunning only in making the worst part of the picture, as if one were skilful in painting the body of a naked person from the navel downward, but nothing else.

For word and speech Plautus is more plentiful, and Terence more pure and proper. And for one respect Terence is to be embraced above all that ever wrote in his kind of argument; because it is well known by good record of learning, and that by Cicero's own witness, that some comedies bearing Terence's name were written by worthy Scipio and wise Lælius, and namely, *Heauton.* and *Adelphi.* And, therefore, as oft as I read those comedies, so oft doth sound in mine ear the pure fine talk of Rome, which was used by the flower of the worthiest nobility that ever Rome bred. Let the wisest man and best learned that liveth read advisedly over the first scene of *Heauton.* and the first scene of *Adelphi*, and let him considerately judge whether it is the talk of a servile stranger born, or rather even that mild eloquent wise speech, which

Cicero in *Brutus* doth so lively express in Lælius. And yet, nevertheless, in all this good propriety of words and pureness of phrases which be in Terence, ye must not follow him always in placing of them, because for the metre sake some words in him sometime be driven awry, which require a straighter placing in plain prose, if ye will form, as I would ye should do, your speech and writing to that excellent perfectness which was only in Tully or only in Tully's time.

The metre and verse of Plautus and Terence be very mean, and not to be followed; which is not their reproach, but the fault of the time wherein they wrote, when no kind of poetry in the Latin tongue was brought to perfection, as doth well appear in the fragments of Ennius, Cæcilius, and others, and evidently in Plautus and Terence, if these in Latin be compared with right skill with Homer, Euripides, Aristophanes, and other in Greek of like sort. Cicero himself doth complain of this unperfectness, but more plainly Quintilian, saying, *in Comœdia maximè claudicamus, et vix levem consequimur umbram;* and most earnestly of all, Horace in *Arte Poetica,* which he doth namely *propter carmen Iambicum,* and referreth all good students herein to the imitation of the Greek tongue, saying—

"Exemplaria Græca
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna."

This matter maketh me gladly remember my sweet

time spent at Cambridge, and the pleasant talk which I had oft with M. Cheke and M. Watson of this fault, not only in the old Latin poets, but also in our new English rhymers at this day. They wished, as Virgil and Horace were not wedded to follow the faults of former fathers (a shrewd marriage in greater matters), but by right imitation of the perfect Grecians had brought poetry to perfectness also in the Latin tongue, that we Englishmen likewise would acknowledge and understand rightfully our rude beggarly rhyming, brought first into Italy by Goths and Huns, when all good verses and all good learning too were destroyed by them, and after carried into France and Germany, and at last received into England by men of excellent wit indeed, but of small learning and less judgment in that behalf.

But now, when men know the difference, and have the examples both of the best and of the worst, surely to follow rather the Goths in rhyming than the Greeks in true versifying were even to eat acorns with swine, when we may freely eat wheat-bread amongst men. Indeed, Chaucer, Th. Norton of Bristow, my Lord of Surrey, M. Wiat, Th. Phaer, and other gentlemen, in translating Ovid, Palingenius, and Seneca, have gone as far to their great praise as the copy they followed could carry them; but if such good wits and forward diligence had been directed to follow the best examples, and not have been carried by time and custom to content

themselves with that barbarous and rude rhyming amongst their other worthy praises, which they have justly deserved, this had not been the least to be counted amongst men of learning and skill more like unto the Grecians than unto the Goths in handling of their verse.

Indeed, our English tongue, having in use chiefly words of one syllable, which commonly be long, doth not well receive the nature of *Carmen Heroicum*, because *dactylus*, the aptest foot for that verse, containing one long and two short, is seldom therefore found in English, and doth also rather stumble than stand upon monosyllables. Quintilian, in his learned "Chapiter de Compositione," giveth this lesson *de monasyllabis* before me; and in the same place doth justly inveigh against all rhyming, that if there be any who be angry with me for misliking of rhyming, may be angry for company too with Quintilian also for the same thing. And yet Quintilian had not so just cause to mislike of it than as men have at this day.

And although *Carmen Hexamentrum* doth rather trot and hobble, than run smoothly in our English tongue, yet I am sure our English tongue will receive *Carmen Iambicum* as naturally as either Greek or Latin. But for ignorance men cannot like, and for idleness men will not labour, to come to any perfectness at all. For, as the worthy poets in Athens and Rome were more careful to satisfy the judgment of one

learned than rash in pleasing the humour of a rude multitude, even so if men in England now had the like reverend regard to learning, skill, and judgment, and durst not presume to write, except they came with the like learning, and also did use like diligence in searching out not only just measure in every metre, as every ignorant person may easily do, but also true quantity in every foot and syllable, as only the learned shall be able to do, and as the Greeks and Romans were wont to do, surely then rash, ignorant heads, which now can easily reckon up fourteen syllables and easily stumble on every rhyme, either durst not for lack of such learning, or else would not, in avoiding such labour, be so busy, as everywhere they be; and shops in London should not be so full of lewd and rude rhymes as commonly they are. But now the ripest of tongue be readiest to write; and many daily in setting out books and ballads make great show of blossoms and buds, in whom is neither root of learning, nor fruit of wisdom at all. Some that make Chaucer in English and Petrarch in Italian, their gods in verses, and yet be not able to make true difference, what is a fault and what is a just praise in those two worthy wits will much mislike this my writing. But such men be even like followers of Chaucer and Petrarch, as one here in England did follow Sir Thomas More; who, being most unlike unto him in wit and learning, nevertheless in wearing his gown awry upon the one shoulder,

as Sir Thomas More was wont to do, would needs be counted like unto him.

This misliking of rhyming beginneth not now of any newfangle singularity, but hath been long misliked of many, and that of men of greatest learning and deepest judgment. And such, that defend it, do so either for lack of knowledge what is best, or else of very envy, that any should perform that in learning, whereunto they, as I said before, either for ignorance cannot, or for idleness will not, labour to attain unto.

And you that praise this rhyming, because ye neither have reason why to like it, nor can show learning to defend it, yet I will help you with the authority of the oldest and learnedest time. In Greece, when poetry was even at the highest pitch of perfectness, one Simmias Rhodius of a certain singularity wrote a book in rhyming Greek verses, naming it ὠόν, containing the fable, how Jupiter in the likeness of a swan gat that egg upon Leda, whereof came Castor, Pollux, and fair Helena. This book was so liked, that it had few to read it, but none to follow it, but was presently contemned, and soon after both author and book so forgotten by men, and consumed by time, as scarce the name of either is kept in memory of learning; and the like folly was never followed of any, many hundred years after, until the Huns and Goths and other barbarous nations of ignorance and rude singularities did revive the same folly again.

The noble lord, Thomas Earl of Surrey, first of all Englishmen in translating the fourth book of Virgil; and Gonsalvo Periz, that excellent learned man and secretary to King Philip of Spain, in translating the Ulysses of Homer out of Greek into Spanish, have both by good judgment avoided the fault of rhyming, yet neither of them hath fully hit perfect and true versifying. Indeed, they observe just number and even feet; but here is the fault, that their feet be feet without joints, that is to say, not distinct by true quantity of syllables, and so such feet be but numb feet, and be even as unfit for a verse to turn and run roundly withal, as feet of brass or wood be unwieldy to go well withal. And as a foot of wood is a plain show of a manifest maim, even so feet in our English versifying without quantity and joints be sure signs, that the verse is either born deformed, unnatural, or lame, and so very unseemly to look upon, except to men that be goggle-eyed themselves.

The spying of this fault now is not the curiosity of English eyes, but even the good judgment also of the best that write in these days in Italy; and namely of that worthy Senese Felicé Figliucci, who, writing upon Aristotle's Ethics so excellently in Italian, as never did yet any one in mine opinion either in Greek or Latin, amongst other things doth most earnestly inveigh against the rude rhyming of verses in that tongue; and whensoever he expresseth Aristotle's precepts

with any example out of Homer or Euripides, he translateth them, not after the rhymes of Petrarch, but into such kind of perfect verse, with like feet and quantity of syllables, as he found them before in the Greek tongue; exhorting earnestly all the Italian nation to leave off their rude barbariousness in rhyming, and follow diligently the excellent Greek and Latin examples in true versifying. And you, that be able to understand no more than ye find in the Italian tongue, and never went farther than the school of Petrarch and Ariostus abroad, or else of Chaucer at home, though you have pleasure to wander blindly still in your foul wrong way, envy not others that seek, as wise men have done before them, the fairest and rightest way; or else, beside the just reproach of malice, wise men shall truly judge that you do so, as I have said and say yet again unto you, because either for idleness ye will not, or for ignorance ye cannot, come by no better yourself.

And, therefore, even as Virgil and Horace deserve most worthy praise, that they spying the unperfectness in Ennius and Plautus by true imitation of Homer and Euripides brought poetry to the same perfectness in Latin as it was in Greek, even so those, that by the same way would benefit their tongue and country, deserve rather thanks than dispraise in that behalf.

And I rejoice that even poor England prevented

Italy first in spying out, then in seeking to amend this fault in learning.

And here for my pleasure I purpose a little by the way to play and sport with my Master Tully, from whom commonly I am never wont to dissent. He himself, for this point of learning, in his verses doth halt a little by his leave. He could not deny it if he were alive, nor those defend him now that love him best. This fault I lay to his charge, because once it pleased him, though somewhat merely, yet overun-courteously, to rail upon poor England, objecting both extreme beggary and mere barbariousness unto it, writing thus unto his friend Atticus: "There is not one scruple of silver in that whole isle, or any one that knoweth either learning or letter."

But now Master Cicero, blessed be God and His Son Jesus Christ, whom you never knew, except it were as it pleased Him to lighten you by some shadow, as covertly in one place ye confess saying: *Veritatis tantum umbram confectamur*, as your master Plato did before you; blessed be God, I say, that sixteen hundred years after you were dead and gone, it may truly be said, that for silver there is more comely plate in one city of England, than is in four of the proudest cities in all Italy, and take Rome for one of them. And for learning, beside the knowledge of all learned tongues and liberal sciences, even your own books, Cicero, be as well read, and your excellent

eloquence is as well liked and loved and as truly followed in England at this day as it is now, or ever was, since your own time, in any place of Italy, either at Arpinum, where ye were born, or else at Rome, where ye were brought up. And a little to brag with you, Cicero, where you yourself, by your leave, halted in some point of learning in your own tongue, many in England at this day go straight up, both in true skill and right doing therein.

This I write, not to reprehend Tully, whom above all other I like and love best, but to excuse Terence, because in his time and a good while after poetry was never perfected in Latin, until by true imitation of the Grecians it was at length brought to perfection; and also thereby to exhort the goodly wits of England, which apt by nature and willing by desire, gave themselves to poetry, that they, rightly understanding the barbarous bringing in of rhymes, would labour, as Virgil and Horace did in Latin, to make perfect also this point of learning in our English tongue.

And thus much for Plautus and Terence, for matter, tongue, and metre, what is to be followed and what to be eschewed in them.

After Plautus and Terence, no writing remaineth until Tully's time, except a few short fragments of L. Crassus' excellent wit, here and there recited of Cicero for example sake, whereby the lovers of learning may the more lament the loss of such a worthy wit.

And although the Latin tongue did fair bloom and blossom in L. Crassus and M. Antonius, yet in Tully's time only, and in Tully himself chiefly, was the Latin tongue fully ripe, and grown to the highest pitch of all perfection.

And yet in the same time it began to fade and stoop, as Tully himself in *Brutus de Claris Oratoribus* with weeping words doth witness.

And because amongst them of that time there was some difference, good reason is that of them of that time should be made right choice also. And yet let the best Ciceronian in Italy read Tully's familiar epistles advisedly over, and I believe he shall find small difference, for the Latin tongue, either in propriety of words or framing of the style, betwixt Tully and those that write unto him. As Ser. Sulpitius, A. Cecinna, M. Cælius, M. et D. Bruti, A. Pollio, L. Plancus, and divers others, read the epistles of L. Plancus in *x. Lib.* and for an essay, that epistle, namely to the Coss. and whole senate, the eight epistles in number, and what could be either more eloquently or more wisely written, yea by Tully himself, a man may justly doubt. These men and Tully lived all in one time, were like in authority, not unlike in learning and study, which might be just causes of this their equality in writing. And yet surely they neither were in deed, nor yet were counted in men's opinions, equal with Tully in that faculty. And how is the difference hid

in his epistles? Verily, as the cunning of an expert seaman in a fair calm fresh river doth little differ from the doing of a meaner workman therein, even so in the short cut of a private letter, where matter is common, words easy, and order not much diverse, small show of difference can appear. But where Tully doth set up his sail of eloquence, in some broad, deep argument, carried with full tide and wind of his wit and learning, all other may rather stand and look after him, than hope to overtake him, what course soever he hold, either in fair or foul. Four men only, when the Latin tongue was full ripe, be left unto us, who in that time did flourish, and did leave to posterity the fruit of their wit and learning: Varro, Sallust, Cæsar, and Cicero. When I say these four only, I am not ignorant that even in the same time most excellent poets, deserving well of the Latin tongue, as Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, and Horace, did write; but because in this little book I purpose to teach a young scholar to go, not to dance; to speak, not to sing (when poets, indeed, namely Epici and Lyrici, as these be, are fine dancers and trim singers); but Oratores and Historici be those comely goers and fair and wise speakers, of whom I wish my scholar to wait upon first, and after, in good order and due time, to be brought forth to the singing and dancing school; and for this consideration do I name these four to be the only writers of that time.

Varro.

Varro, in his books *de lingua Latina et Analogia,* as these be left mangled and patched unto us, doth not enter there into any great depth of eloquence, but as one carried in a small low vessel himself very nigh the common shore, not much unlike the fishermen of Rye and herring-men of Yarmouth, who deserve by common men's opinion small commendation for any cunning failing at all. Yet nevertheless in those books of Varro good and necessary stuff for that mean kind of argument is very well and learnedly gathered together.

His books of husbandry are much to be regarded and diligently to be read, not only for the propriety, but also for the plenty of good words in all country and husbandmen's affairs, which cannot be had by so good authority out of any other author either of so good a time or of so great learning as out of Varro. And yet because he was fourscore years old when he wrote those books, the form of his style there compared with Tully's writing is but even the talk of a spent old man, whose words commonly fall out of his mouth, though very wisely, yet hardly and coldly, and more heavily also, than some ears can well bear, except only for age and authority's sake. And, perchance, in a rude country argument, of purpose and judgment he rather used the speech of the country than talk of the city.

And so, for matter sake, his words sometimes be somewhat rude, and by the imitation of the elder Cato old and out of use. And being deep stepped in age, by negligence some words do so escape and fall from him in those books, as be not worth the taking up by him that is careful to speak or write true Latin. as that sentence in him, *Romani in pace à rusticis alebantur, et in bello ab his tuebantur.* A good student must be therefore careful and diligent to read with judgment over even those authors which did write in the most perfect time; and let him not be afraid to try them, both in propriety of words and form of style, by the touchstone of Cæsar and Cicero, whose purity was never soiled—no, not by the sentence of those that loved them worst.

All lovers of learning may sore lament the loss of those books of Varro which he wrote in his young and lusty years with good leisure and great learning of all parts of philosophy; of the goodliest arguments pertaining both to the common wealth and private life of man, as *de Ratione studii et educandis liberis,* which book is oft recited and much praised in the fragments of *Nonius,* even for authority sake. He wrote most diligently and largely also the whole history of the state of Rome—the mysteries of their whole religion, their laws, customs, and government in peace, their manners and whole discipline in war. And this is not my guessing, as one indeed that never

saw those books, but even the very judgment and plain testimony of Tully himself, who knew and read those books in these words: *Tu ætatem Patriæ; Tu descriptiones temporum; Tu sacrorum, tu sacerdotum Jura; tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam; tu sedem regionum, locorum, tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti*, etc.

But this great loss of Varro is a little recompensed by the happy coming of Dionysius Halicarnassæus to Rome in Augustus' days, who, getting the possession of Varro's library out of that treasure-house of learning, did leave unto us some fruit of Varro's wit and diligence—I mean his goodly books *de Antiquitatibus Romanorum*. Varro was so esteemed for his excellent learning, as Tully himself had a reverence to his judgment in all doubts of learning. And Antonius Triumvir, his enemy and of a contrary faction, who had power to kill and banish whom he listed, when Varro's name amongst others was brought in a schedule unto him to be noted to death, he took his pen and wrote his warrant of safeguard with these most goodly words, *Vivat Varro vir doctissimus*. In later time no man knew better nor liked and loved more Varro's learning than did St. Augustine, as they do well understand that have diligently read over his learned books *de Civitate Dei*, where he hath this most notable sentence: "When I see how

much Varro wrote, I marvel much that ever he had any leisure to read; and when I perceive how many things he read, I marvel more that ever he had any leisure to write," etc.

And surely if Varro's books had remained to posterity, as by God's providence the most part of Tully's did, then truly the Latin tongue might have made good comparison with the Greek.

Sallust.

Sallust is a wise and worthy writer, but he requireth a learned reader and a right considerer of him. My dearest friend and best master that ever I had or heard in learning, Sir J. Cheke, such a man, as if I should live to see England breed the like again, I fear I should live over long, did once give me a lesson for Sallust, which, as I shall never forget myself, so is it worthy to be remembered of all those that would come to perfect judgment of the Latin tongue. He said that Sallust was not very fit for young men to learn out of him the purity of the Latin tongue, because he was not the purest in propriety of words, nor choicest in aptness of phrases, nor the best in framing of sentences; "and therefore is his writing," said he, "neither plain for the matter, nor sensible for men's understanding." "And what is the cause thereof, sir?" quoth I. "Verily," said he, "because in Sallust's writing is more art than nature,

and more labour than art, and in his labour also too much toil, as it were, with an uncontented care to write better than he could, a fault common to very many men. And therefore he doth not express the matter lively and naturally with common speech as ye see Xenophon doth in Greek, but it is carried and driven forth artificially after too learned a sort, as Thucydides doth in his orations." "And how cometh it to pass," said I, "that Cæsar and Cicero's talk is so natural and plain, and Sallust his writing so artificial and dark, when all they three lived in one time?" "I will freely tell you my fancy herein," said he. "Surely Cæsar and Cicero, beside a singular prerogative of natural eloquence given unto them by God, both two, by use of life, were daily orators among the common people, and greatest counsellors in the senate-house, and therefore gave themselves to use such speech as the meanest should well understand, and the wisest best allow, following carefully that good counsel of Aristotle, *loquendum ut multi, sapiendum ut pauci.* Sallust was no such man, neither for will to goodness nor skill by learning, but ill-given by nature, and made worse by bringing up, spent the most part of his youth very misorderly in riot and lechery, in the company of such who never giving their mind to honest doing, could never inure their tongue to wise speaking. But at last coming to better years, and buying wit at the dearest hand, that is, by long experience of the hurt and shame that cometh of mischief,

moved by the counsel of them that were wise, and carried by the example of such as were good, first fell to honesty of life, and after to the love of study and learning, and so became so new a man that Cæsar, being dictator, made him prætor in Numidia, where he, absent from his country, and not inured with the common talk of Rome, but shut up in his study, and bent wholly to reading, did write the story of the Romans. And for the better accomplishing of the same, he read Cato and Piso in Latin for gathering of matter and truth, and Thucydides in Greek for the order of his story, and furnishing of his style. Cato (as his time required) had more truth for the matter than eloquence for the style. And so Sallust, by gathering truth out of Cato, smelleth much of the roughness of his style; even as a man that eateth garlic for health shall carry away with him the savour of it also, whether he will or not. And yet the use of old words is not the greatest cause of Sallust's roughness and darkness. There be in Sallust some old words indeed, as *patrare bellum*, *ductare exercitum*, well noted by Quintilian, and very much misliked of him; and *supplicium* for *supplicatio*, a word smelling of an older store than the other two so misliked by Quint. And yet is that word also in Varro, speaking of oxen thus, *boves ad victimas faciunt, atque ad Deorum supplicia*, and a few old words more. Read Sallust and Tully advisedly together, and in words ye shall find small difference; yea, Sallust is more

given to new words than to old, though some old writers say the contrary: as *Claritudo* for *Gloria*, *exactè* for *perfectè*, *facundia* for *eloquentia*. These two last words, *exactè* and *facundia*, now in every man's mouth, be never (as I do remember) used of Tully, and therefore I think they be not good; for surely Tully, speaking everywhere so much of the matter of eloquence, would not so precisely have abstained from the word *facundia* if it had been good; that is, proper for the tongue, and common for men's use. I could be long in reciting many such like, both old and new, words in Sallust; but in very deed neither oldness nor newness of words maketh the greatest difference betwixt Sallust and Tully, but first strange phrases made of good Latin words, but framed after the Greek tongue, which be neither choicely borrowed of them, nor properly used by him, than a hard composition and crooked framing of his words and sentences, as a man would say, English talk placed and framed outlandish like. As, for example, first in phrases, *nimius et animus*, be two used words, yet *homo nimius animi* is an unused phrase. *Vulgus, et amat, et fieri* be as common and well-known words as may be in the Latin tongue, yet *id quod vulgò amat fieri*, for *solet fieri*, is but a strange and Greekish kind of writing. *Ingens et vires* be proper words, yet *vir ingens virium* is an unproper kind of speaking, and so be likewise

Æger consilii,
Promptissimus belli,
Territus animi,

and many such like phrases in Sallust, borrowed as I said not choicely out of Greek, and used therefore unproperly in Latin. Again, in whole sentences where the matter is good, the words proper and plain, yet the sense is hard and dark, and namely in his prefaces and orations, wherein he used most labour, which fault is likewise in Thucydides in Greek, of whom Sallust hath taken the greatest part of his darkness. For Thucydides likewise wrote his story, not at home in Greece, but abroad in Italy, and therefore smelleth of a certain outlandish kind of talk, strange to them of Athens and diverse from their writing, that lived in Athens and Greece, and wrote the same time that Thucydides did, as Lysias, Xenophon, Plato, and Isocrates, the purest and plainest writers that ever wrote in any tongue, and best examples for any man to follow, whether he write Latin, Italian, French, or English. Thucydides also seemeth in his writing not so much benefited by nature as holpen by art, and carried forth by desire, study, labour, toil, and over-great curiosity; who spent twenty-seven years in writing his eight books of his history. Sallust likewise wrote out of his country, and followed the faults of Thucydides too much, and borroweth of him some kind of writing which the Latin tongue cannot well bear, as *Casus nominativus*

in divers places *absolutè positus*, as in that place of Jugurth, speaking *de Leptitanis, itaque ab imperatore facilè quæ petebant adepti, missæ sunt eò cohortes Ligurum quatuor.* This thing in participles, used so often in Thucydides, and other Greek authors too, may better be borne withal, but Sallust useth the same more strangely and boldly, as in these words, *Multis sibi quisque imperium petentibus.* I believe the best grammarian in England can scarce give a good rule why *quisque*, the nominative case without any verb, is so thrust up among so many oblique cases. Some man perchance will smile and laugh to scorn this my writing, and call it idle curiosity, thus to busy myself in pickling about these small points of grammar, not fit for my age, place, and calling to trifle in; I trust that man, be he never so great in authority, never so wise and learned, either by other men's judgment or his own opinion, will yet think that he is not greater in England than Tully was at Rome, nor yet wiser, nor better learned than Tully was himself, who, at the pitch of three score years, in the midst of the broil betwixt Cæsar and Pompeii, when he knew not whither to send wife and children, which way to go, where to hide himself, yet, in an earnest letter amongst his earnest counsels for those heavy times concerning both the common state of his country and his own private great affairs, he was neither unmindful nor

ashamed to reason at large, and learn gladly of Atticus a less point of grammar than these be, noted of me in Sallust, as whether he should write *ad Piræea, in Piræea,* or *Piræeum sine præpositione.* And in those heavy times he was so careful to know this small point of grammar, that he addeth these words, *Si hoc mihi ζήτημα persolveris, magna me molestia liberaris.* If Tully, at that age, in that authority, in that care for his country, in that jeopardy for himself, and extreme necessity of his dearest friends, being also the prince of eloquence himself, was not ashamed to descend to these low points of grammar in his own natural tongue, what should scholars do, yea, what should any man do, if he do think well-doing better than ill-doing, and had rather be perfect than mean, sure than doubtful, to be what he should be in deed, not seem what he is not in opinion? He that maketh perfectness in the Latin tongue his mark, must come to it by choice and certain knowledge, not stumble upon it by chance and doubtful ignorance. And the right steps to reach unto it be these, linked thus orderly together: aptness of nature, love of learning, diligence in right order, constancy with pleasant moderation, and always to learn of them that be best, and so shall you judge as they that be wisest. And these be those rules which worthy Master Cheke did impart unto me concerning Sallust, and the right judgment of the Latin tongue.

Cæsar.

Cæsar, for that little of him that is left unto us, is like the half face of a Venus, the other part of the head being hidden, the body and the rest of the members unbegun, yet so excellently done by Apelles, as all men may stand still to maze and muse upon it, and no man step forth with any hope to perform the like.

His seven books *de bello Gallico*, and three *de bello Civili*, be written so wisely for the matter, so eloquently for the tongue, that neither his greatest enemies could ever find the least note of partiality in him (a marvellous wisdom of a man, namely writing of his own doings), nor yet the best judges of the Latin tongue, nor the most envious lookers upon other men's writings, can say any other but all things be most perfectly done by him.

Brutus, Calvus, and Calidius, who found fault with Tully's fulness in words and matter, and that rightly, for Tully did both confess it and mend it, yet in Cæsar they neither did, nor could find the like, or any other fault.

And therefore thus justly I may conclude of Cæsar, that where, in all other, the best that ever wrote in any time, or in any tongue, in Greek or Latin, I except neither Plato, Demosthenes, nor Tully, some fault is

justly noted, in Cæsar only could never yet fault be found.

Yet nevertheless, for all this perfect excellency in him, yet it is but in one member of eloquence, and that but of one side neither, when we must look for that example to follow, which hath a perfect head, a whole body forward and backward, arms and legs and all.

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